1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

3

THE RAINMAKING CEREMONY

COMMUNAL ceremonies had to do with food and with the rain necessary for its production. The most important of them all was that which "brought down the clouds" in July; this is still widely held among the northern Papago. Here it is described as having occurred in the youth of old informants.

Rainmaking magic consisted in fermenting and drinking a liquor made from the fruit of the giant cactus (*Cereus giganticus*). The name of the ceremony is *nâwai't* from *nawai* (liquor) and *ta* (the suffix which means to make).[1] The idea is that the saturation of the body with liquor typifies and produces the saturation of the earth with rain. Every act of the procedure is accompanied with ceremonial singing or oratory describing rain and growth.

PREPARATION

The festival took place in July, which marks the beginning of the rainy season and of the Papago year. For three weeks previous to this ceremony the giant cactus fruit is ripe on all the southern hill slopes, and every family left its winter quarters and went to camp in some grove to which it had a more or less hereditary right. The women of the family made a tour of their territory every day, filling their baskets with the fruit pulp and leaving the shells, with their red lining uppermost, "to draw the rain." Since the pulp will

[1] The Pima were still holding the drinking festival in 1902, though Russell calls it "a drunken orgy," "with the element of sacredness at a minimum." Russell, pp. 170–71.

[p. 41]

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

not keep in the hot weather, what was gathered was cooked the same day and reduced to seeds, jam, or syrup. It was this boiled syrup which was used for making the liquor, and each housewife sealed it in jars to be ready for the rainmaking ceremony.

At this time the old man of the family recounted the origin of the liquor making. This is one of the miscellaneous incidents inserted during Elder Brother's guardianship of the first people, but in it Elder Brother has no very prominent part, and it has the air of being incorporated forcibly into the story.

A baby was deserted by his mother who was so enthusiastic about playing the game of double ball that she never nursed her child. The infant, after following her in vain, finally sank into the earth and came up on a mountain slope as a giant cactus. The people searched for it and finally the Crow found it. The Crow flew to its summit (the giant cactus is often 20 to 30 feet high); it nibbled the fruit and vomited the red pulp into a basket. The people then put this pulp into a jar and said to it: "You know what to do." The pulp began to ferment, singing:

"Here I stand,
The wind is coming toward me,
Shaking.

Here I stand,
A cloud is coming toward me,
Shaking."

When it was fermented, all the birds and animals, who were then men, painted their faces and bodies and came to drink. The quarrels and adventures which occurred were the cause of present colorings.(1)

Because there was so much drunkenness, the people or Elder Brother decided to do away with the giant cactus. They sent Badger to throw the seeds into the ocean, but Badger met Coyote, who persuaded him to open his hand and show the seeds. Coyote then struck his hand a blow and scattered the seeds, which fell in clumps. Since the wind was blowing from the south, they were blown against the southern side of the hills, where the cactus now grows. Elder Brother finally gave women the tall stick which is used for gathering the cactus fruit and the head-ring of agave fibre, with which they balance the basket on their heads. He ordained that cactus liquor should be

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

make liquor. The youths must be sure to go, to take the message and to bring the deer tails, eagle down, and beads. They should go some time in the night, but those who are not fast runners will at least arrive in the morning. The shaman will get here when the sun is so high (two hours). By that time, all of you will already have brought your syrup.(1)

THE FERMENTATION OF LIQUOR

According to tradition, it was the head man of the village who should know the rainmaking ritual and should preside at the fermentation of the liquor. If he was not fitted for the task, the elders chose a man who knew the speeches, calling him by the title He Who Desires Liquor. He passed his knowledge on to a male relative, just as did other functionaries. This man received the contributions of syrup and sent messengers to fetch the water with which it was to be mixed. Half and half was the usual proportion. He poured syrup and water into large jars in the council house, adjuring it:

Be strong!
Let us get well drunk!
Hither bring the wind and its cloudiness.(1)

At Pisinimo the syrup must be cleansed by a shaman before it was set to ferment, since it might have been subject to the influence of a menstruating woman. The shaman blew into the jar, then he took a length of reed or a hollow weed stalk, put one end into the jar and blew smoke into the other end. This was repeated four times(1).

Then the syrup was set to ferment. Some eight or ten large jars were provided, set in holes dug in the earthen floor of the council house and lined with dry grass. A small fire was built to keep an even temperature, and a curtain was hung at the door of the house to keep out drafts. As the liquor maker filled each jar, he might address it:

4. I shall pour you in.
You will draw your good wind and clouds.(4)

The liquor was mixed about noon and was allowed to ferment for two nights. By the end of the second night it should have been ready to drink, and if it was not, witchcraft was suspected.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

The liquor maker appointed two or more men to watch the fermentation. If it was too rapid they added water, and if too slow, liquor from another jar. There was an official taster, known as Thin Lips or Squirrel Mouth, because his lips must be especially sensitive. In some places he was a warrior who had slain an enemy, but in others this was thought dangerous, since he might not have guarded his scalp basket properly and thus be subject to accident. The men guarding the liquor worked in shifts, so that it should never be alone and subject to evil influences. Miss Densmore quotes songs sung by these men,[2] but the writer did not obtain any.

While the liquid was fermenting inside the ceremonial house, the people were expected to dance outside in order to assist the process. The following are calls made by the crier to summon them.

CALL TO SING WHILE LIQUOR FERMENTS
(Santa Rosa)

Our fire has been lit, and the sun has gone down;
Our fire has been lit, and the sun has gone down.
You have eaten,
Come together and follow our ancient custom,
Come together and do your part
So the medicine man can see into the clouds.
This is not the beginning.
Thus we have always done and thus we will always do.(12)

CALL TO SING WHILE LIQUOR FERMENTS
(Kaka)

5. Come together!
You shall see this thing which we have always done
And what must truly happen.
Because we have planned it thus and thus have done.
Right soon, indeed, it will happen.
It will rain.
The fields will be watered.
Therein we shall drop the seed.
Seed which bears corn of all colors;
Seed which grows big.
Thus we shall do.
Thereby we shall feed ourselves;

[2] Densmore, p. 154.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

Thereby our stomachs shall grow big;
Thereby we shall live.(3)

At some villages a special messenger called at each house to summon the people. He had his face painted black and was known as the blackface. Black was thought to connote dizziness and was used also for warriors, to typify the wildness of battle. He stood at the threshold saying, "My kinsmen, come help us to sing that we may pull down the clouds." One informant, a good singer, said that he then always turned to her and requested: "My sister, now you must help us. It will be only two nights, and then you can rest"(26).

When the singers arrived, they were again instructed:

6. Now here you have assembled;
Now thus we shall do!
With our singing we shall pull down the rain.(4)

At the council house any sacred objects owned by the village had been placed on display; and, if there was nothing more, at least there was a tuft of eagle down over each door, because "everybody keeps a little eagle down." In the center of the dance place was a small fire, from which cigarettes could be lighted. A large fire would "scare away the clouds." The old men who knew the songs sat outside the council house and sang each song to make sure of words and tune. When they had decided on the first song, they called the song leader. This man had been chosen by the council for the liquor singing because of his loud voice and good memory. He held office until too old to sing and then passed on his duties to some male relative to whom he had taught the songs. Each leader generally had several unofficial assistants, with loud voices and good memories, whom he asked to follow him at the head of the line. Some old informants, both men and women, boasted of having belonged to this group, known as "those who walk ahead."

The leader advanced to the dance place, shaking his rattle horizontally, and began the song. The men joined him, clasping hands and stepping sideways, counterclockwise. As other voices joined in, the leader shook his rattle vertically. Gradually the women joined the circle, each placing herself between two men. There was burning rivalry among the young men who hoped to be chosen in

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

feathers hanging over the dance place, shake it, and cause drops to fall. Or they might squeeze drops from some object held in the hand, even from crystal. "Between dances I was nursing my baby, and I fell asleep. A shaman, who was my kinsman, came with his eagle plumes and squeezed drops on my face to wake me."(26)

The dancing lasted until dawn, with pauses for smoking. These pauses were, anciently, a period of license, regarded as fertility magic. No opprobrium attached to the changing of partners by married people at such a time, and many young men were famous for their exploits. Young girls, who were carefully secluded, were either not allowed to attend at all or were kept close to their mothers all night.

At dawn, the crier bade the people go home and sleep, but to come again and sing on the following night. In some of the villages a rabbit hunt was held on the intervening day, so that there might be a feast for guests. Otherwise, the people slept. Meanwhile, the tasters continued to test the liquor and to watch it ferment; if it showed no signs of bubbling, after forty-eight hours, some shaman would be accused of bewitching it. The writer remembers an occasion at Santa Rosa, when the liquor failed to bubble at the proper time. The village was shrouded in an atmosphere of gloom and was rife with accusations, both of sorcery and of breach of taboo. Had not fermentation finally taken place, there might have been some unpleasant incidents.

On the second night the people sang again, and toward dawn, if all went well, the liquor was generally at the peak of fermentation. After the final song and before the people separated, the shamans announced when rain might be expected. If there were several shamans and each made a different prognostication, those who were mistaken were in danger of losing their reputation. There was usually some leeway in that a man might say: "I meant four days from the end of the singing, not from the beginning"; or, "I meant a heavy rain, not a light one." Then the crier sent the people home with the words:

27. When the liquor has reached the right point, then you will eat. Then up there [at your houses] the blackface will summon you. Immediately you will assemble. We shall sit and drink.(26)

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

behavior may have been an old institution in that area, for the writer heard of light women among the Mohave, and Sahagun gives a long description of them among the Aztecs.[9] The Pima sang of their lure and even considered that they brought a special blessing.[10] For the Papago man, free at this time of license, they constituted one of the high lights of the feast, and many songs celebrate them.

SONGS OF THE LIGHT WOMEN

53. The heart of the light woman
Comes out of her.
Far yonder it is running about.
All through the long night it is running,
Giving her light.(13)

54. The little playful women!
The little playful women!
Whence got they dizziness?
Therewith they made my heart drunk.
The little playful women!
When they are dizzy,
Surely they will take me.(20)

55. Dizzy women
Are seizing my heart;
Westward they are leading me.
Ah, but I like it!
One on each side, they are leading me.(20)

Sung by a light woman.

56. A dizzy man seizes me
Yonder he leads me.
In my way darkness falls
I know not [what I do].(20)

Drinking lasted until the liquor was exhausted. This meant about twenty-four hours, during which the men of the village galloped their horses from house to house, wherever there was a supply. In former days dandies were said to prepare for the drinking

[9] Sahagún, Seler, tr. Neunter Abschnitt, b, 7, p. 66, and Jourdanet Book X, chap. xv, p. 16.

[10] Russell, pp. 307, 325. Also information from Dr. Benedict.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

In formerdays, dandies were said to prepare for the drinking by reddening the soles of their feet so that when they fell over drunk "the pretty color would show." Some women remained in the otherwise deserted houses, and young girls and babies were kept on the housetops, out of harm's way.

We children would stay there all day and all night [reported one informant], "and when the drinking was over, some child would come from a neighbor's house and tell us: 'Your father and your mother are asleep out there in the arroyo. Go sit by them until they wake, so that their clothes will not be stolen.' "(26)

But the liquor had no very high alcoholic content. So much of it must be drunk before there is any intoxication that its most usual effect is to make the drinker vomit. This is recognized as a ceremonial feature, and people say with pleasure, pointing out a man so affected: "Look, he is throwing up clouds." The regular procedure during the twenty-four hours of the feast is to drink, vomit, sleep, and drink again, until the result is a thorough purging. The writer, after attending many festivals, has never seen any acts of violence, though it is reported that violence does sometimes occur. It is usual to see a group gathered at one house, singing, while the only drinking cup is passed slowly around, one person drinking at a time. This is the occasion above all others for learning songs, and informants are often recommended with the words, "He will know songs; he goes to all the drinking festivals." [11]

[11] The rainmaking ceremony is still held in the northern part of the reservation in the villages belonging to the Archie group and at Anegam. Since in the last few years more leniency is being shown by the Indian Office toward Indian festivals, this ceremony is being revived in other districts.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

During the ceremony cactus liquor was being fermented in the council house, since at Quitovaca the rainmaking ceremony has coalesced with the prayer-stick festival. The process was under the charge of an appointed liquormaker, but there was much less ceremony than in the north. A tuft of eagle down was placed over the door of the council house and another on the ground outside. The latter was attached to a stick two feet high painted with a red spiral. No explanation of the decoration could be given. "It was from the beginning."

The scraping-stick musicians acted as tasters. Samples were brought to them in their shelter, and they consumed a jugful at each test, sharing it with the woman guardian of the basket. The writer, invited to sit with them, was offered her share and had a chance to hear them joke each other about the fast they were enduring.

"Well, liquor's good enough, but now bring some corn-meal mush." "Where's the coffee?" "My legs are stiff, I haven't been out for three hours."

The men did get up occasionally and walk about, but the woman guardian sat absolutely still for the whole twenty-four hours.

This happened to be a specially fortunate festival for the liquor fermented before the day was half over. "Because of that," clouds gathered early, and by mid-afternoon there was such a torrential downpour that the performance had to be left unfinished. When it broke up, the woman guardian took the basket on her head and, escorted as before, carried it back to the council house. After the drinking it was returned to its cave in the hills. From the council house a man not in costume went around the village inviting the men. "Come friend. Get well drunk." Drinking lasted until dawn, when the liquor was exhausted.

Both the prayer-stick festivals are still being given. For a time, the winter festival was dropped but it was revived in 1932 and the Archie people plan to continue it permanently. The summer festival has been held continuously but it is much abbreviated. It has coalesced with the cleansing ceremony and the rainmaking to form the one yearly performance at Quitovaca.

[p. 162 is blank]

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

kitchen. Several beeves are consumed on such an occasion, and 796^x
a hundredweight of bread. After dark there may be a service in 177
the church led by the woman officiant, and here the scene is outstandingly Mexican. Women crowd in and kneel in the tiny space, while the men stand outside.

After the service, the whole congregation forms a procession, like that to be seen in so many Mexican towns. The head man carries the saint's image, and perhaps two acolytes hold an arch of paper flowers over his head. Behind him comes an orchestra [533] of guitar and two violins, which may cost the church owners twenty-five dollars a night. Then comes the congregation, men first, women following. They march to the cross, which the head man circles, while the followers turn about face, and then they return to the church where all leave contributions in the clay bank on the altar.

After this, comes the dancing. The orchestra takes its place in a booth, and the men make a fire if the night is cold. Old people, [535] young people, and children dance a sort of polka. The Papago know that this dance was brought from Mexico, but they still observe some of their own rules. Girls dance with girls and boys [576] with boys. Respectable women dance only with their husbands. The dance ground contains as many small children as adults.

In the dark, at the outskirts of the dance ground, drinking goes 796^x
on. So does lovemaking. Both these relaxations were a part of 177
the old rainmaking ceremony, and a few years ago the drink 786
served at church fiestas was the native cactus beer. At present it is 273
hard liquor brought in by bootleggers, and drunkenness is sometimes extreme. This change is hard to assess exactly, for the very same thing has gone on in Mexico. Many Sonora Indians, like the Papago, practiced ceremonial drinking and have now transferred the custom to Christian feasts. The Papago may have copied their Mexican neighbors, or the change to a near orgy may have been a parallel development with all. Certainly when people begin to revive on Sunday afternoon (the dancing goes on throughout Saturday night), there are usually some serious injuries to be found and occasionally a death.

These unaffiliated churches may have been developing at the 794
177

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

221 423 322 village located a good grove in the foothills nearest it and the families chose their camping sites there. In this case there was no consultation with the Council for the cactus groves were very extensive and there was plenty of room. Nearly related families placed their camps together with a picking grove around them a half mile or more square, or such that the women of the combined families could just manage to keep the groves picked clean as the fruit ripened. The next campers settled far enough away so as to give themselves room and not interfere. No one would settle near an established camp unless he was a relative and then only after asking permission and no one, looking for a new camp, would go to the hills already pre-empted by a village not his own.

However, residents of one village often asked their relatives from another village to make cactus camp with them; married daughters came back to camp with their families and people who had formed new Field villages used the old cactus camp. This shifting of personnel furnished almost as much excitement as the journey to a ceremony and formed a relief for relatives living in close contact the rest of the year.

221 273 222 423 A family thus using the cactus grove of a village not their own felt bound in honor to bring the gathered juice to the ceremony of the host village. Tradition says that, in the old days, all juice was fermented in the council house with none kept for private consumption. That constituted the guests ceremonial laborers for the host village. At present a great deal of the liquor is used for home consumption and people want more of it. Also they are less willing to camp in the waterless groves where water has to be transported a long distance and they are beginning to encroach on the groves of people camped in the more accessible places. "But I would not say anything," said a man who had suffered this. "The cactus is for all. We did not make it and the people who pick it are bringing rain." A woman, less tolerant, followed the trespassers all the way out of the grove, scolding them. But the rest of her family disapproved and would say nothing. The Papago tradition of peaceableness was strong.

221 222 423 [252] The cholla and the prickly pear grew in the same general locations as the giant cactus and when they were in season the women of the family went back to the cactus camp for two or three days, drying or eating the prickly pear and pit-baking the cholla on the spot. For each of the other staples they had a special location: mesquite beans by the washes, yucca on hilltops; roots and greens in low wet places. There were no family camps in these gathering grounds but each was understood to be pre-empted by a village or by several related villages.

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

toward a hill that stood against the sun, and there I saw a man on a horse, with a long pole in his hand. "There is a man with a cactus pole," I said. But it was not a cactus pole. It was a lance. Only I had never seen lances, for our people do not use them. My husband said very low: "It's an Apache." I cried. He said: "Don't cry. They'll hear."

He got up and got on the horse. He took some arrows out of his quiver, strung one, and held the others in his hand ready to shoot. "Throw away that prickly pear and hang the basket on the saddle!" I turned out the basket and hung it on the croup. "Get up quick!" I stepped on my husband's foot and mounted.

The Apache stood there against the sun. He had feathers on his head and a blanket around his waist, and he carried his quiver over his right shoulder. If I had seen that before I should have known he was not one of our men. Ours carry the quiver at the waist. Imagine carrying it any other way! How would you use it?

That Apache hallooed: "Ai-i-i-i-i!" He was telling the other Apaches that there were Desert People in sight. Two more came out and there were three of them. They started coming toward us. We galloped fast and when we looked back they were following. I do not know when they turned back. We galloped all that day. When we came to the hidden water holes, we just stopped to drink, and when we were in the open land with the bare mountain looking down on it, where the Apaches hide, then we galloped, galloped, galloped.

We did not go alone to Mexico any more.

We came home to Where the Water Whirls Around in the Yellow month, when the greasewood bushes begin to flower in our own land. You know they flower before the rain, little yellow blossoms all over the flat land as far as you can see, so that they look like lights. When those flowers have gone, you see the white blossoms on the top of the giant cactus, sitting there like big white birds that have just come.

Then we picked the cactus fruit and we made our liquor. But this time I did not sit on the top of the house while the others drank it. No! My husband's brothers did not take their wives to the singing, but my husband always took me. I was the best singer of them all. It was not for nothing that I had heard my father's songs. On the very first night of the singing, the messenger, whom we call Blackface, came galloping to all our houses: "Hail! Come tonight. Help us to bring down the moisture! Pull down the good clouds. Come and enjoy yourselves with your relatives." Then he always turned to me: "My relative, now the time has come when you should help us. Sing two nights, then you can go home and rest."

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

X 159 ● 23 789 Then I took my baby and I went running with the other women down to the dance place. There was a little fire, and the eagle feathers strung up against the stars, and the liquor brewing, bubbling, where it was warm inside the council house.

In a great circle the men went round the fire, singing in the night to make the liquor brew. My husband walked at the head with his rattle. When we women came out of the dark to part the hands of the men and take our places between them, I stood beside my husband. There was where the best singers walked, boy and girl, boy and girl; those-who-stand-at-the-head.

[533]

Within the Quijotoa Mountain
There is a trembling
The ocean water there within
Is shaking.

It makes me want to cry, that song which brings the good rain.

I left my baby lying on a blanket, and the other women watched it. Between songs, when the men lit their cigarettes in the magic fire and smoked in the dark, I sat down to nurse the child. Once I fell asleep. My father-in-law was one of the medicine men standing in the center of the ring, turning his eagle feathers this way and that to catch the wind that was bringing rain, because it was dry yet, no rain had fallen. My father-in-law shook his eagle feather over me and drops of rain fell in my ear. Then I woke and sang again.

[791] The medicine men made magic all night long, while we sang. They used to go to the string of eagles' feathers hanging outside the council house and shake them. If it was to rain soon, drops of rain would come whirling off those feathers. One man made a little pile of dirt and put a bit of eagle down on top of it. Eagle down is like the clouds; it calls them. Soon water came from the dry sky and wet that eagle down, so that the pile of earth was damp. Then he took up that eagle down and sprinkled all us dancers with it.

At the end of the second night's dancing, the medicine men told us when it would rain. We did not want it the next day, because that was when we drank our liquor. But after, when we were awake again and ready to plant our fields. And that was when it would come. We counted the days. On the night before rain should come, there was lightning in the south. On the next day, came the dust storm, bearing the rain on its back. And then the rain! But that was in the old days. Now the world is too old.

When the two night's singing was over, our liquor that was in the coun-

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

cil house fermented. Sometimes now it does not ferment in the right time, but then it always did. Then the Blackface came in the morning to call us to the Sit-and-drink. We sat in a circle outside the council house, and four medicine men sat in that circle at north, south, east, and west. My father-in-law was always one, and I sat beside him to help sing. Oh, I had a loud voice then.

They passed the liquor to the medicine men, and those men cleaned it, rubbing their hands around the basket. Then we drank, all of us, one after the other, from a cup gourd that the cup bearer dipped in the basket. Ours is good liquor. It does not make you fight and think unhappy thoughts. It only makes you sing. We sang, nodding our heads slowly back and forth, for that is the right way at the Sit-and-drink.

When the liquor was all gone we went to the houses. Each woman had brewed liquor for herself. She mixed it well and buried it in the earth to keep warm, saying to it: "Now I put you in the earth. Do you ferment and let us get beautifully drunk."

So we went to our relatives' houses, my husband and I together. He held my hand to keep me safe, and I had the baby on my back and one little child by the hand. The big ones we left home on the housetop as my mother had done. When we came to a house, the people held out the gourd to us. We drank it all and then we covered it with a song: that is what we call it. I had songs that I had learned from my father. After I had sung, they called me by the term of kinship, as we do, and said: "A fine song." I always had plenty to drink because I could sing.

When we wanted to rest from drinking, we went to our own house because no family may drink its own liquor. If we did that, our houses would burn; it would be taking back what you have given. So we held out the gourd to the others and listened to their songs. Then we vomited and were rested and went out again.

VIII

My husband was a Coyote-Meeter. That is, when he had his medicine man's dreams, it was our comrade, Coyote, who came to him and sang him songs. It began when he went with the other men to the ocean to get salt, for that is where all our young men go when they want to meet some spirit. They gather the salt, and then they run along that great sandy place where the water is and where there are white birds flying over head. It was those white birds that had sung to my father, but with my husband it was different.

Running along alone, he saw a dead coyote on the sand. He stopped.

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

it. Then they put it up again in another place but still at Mesquite Root where they had always lived. There my mother lived and they with her. She said to them: "I didn't bring you up to have you go off with some woman. If you were girls, I would let you go. But since you are men, this is where you should stay. If some woman loves you and falls against you, bring her home. She can cook for me." So they married and brought their wives home. I have many grandchildren from those brothers. 159x 768

I went back to Where the Water Whirls Around. We lived better there because we had more horses and my husband went often to sing for the sick. People gave him clothes for that singing, and we all had clothes then, not just something tied around our waists. And all the men had trousers instead of breech clouts. My husband and I built a house next door to his family. Shining Evening built one, too, and lived there alone. She used to cook beans and tortillas and have good food there. When my father-in-law died, my mother-in-law lived in that house with Shining Evening, and he was both a son and a daughter, only he was often away, drunk. 159x

There were white men here and there on our land by that time, as there never had been. So our men began to learn to drink that whiskey. It was not a thing that you must drink only once a year like our cactus cider. You could drink it any time, with no singing and no speeches, and it did not bring rain. Men grew crazy when they drank that whiskey and they had visions. My husband did not drink. He had his visions. He said that a good man must get them as he and my father had, by suffering. But Shining Evening got very crazy. She would flirt and laugh with the men more than ever, throw gravel at them and slap their faces. Many names the men got from Shining Evening, for that is how our men got most of their nicknames. 159x 273

She gave to her brother, Thundering Wings, the nickname of Skirt-string. Shining Evening was the first of us women to make a skirt that was sewed up and had a draw string. Her brother pulled it out and said: "Hey! What's this!" She giggled and said in her funny high voice: "Skirt-string! Skirt-string!" So everybody called him that. Some men wanted to buy the name, it was so funny. 159x 553

I was much with Shining Evening and the women in those days because my husband was away. People would send for him from far across the desert, and he would go and sing for many nights. Then on other nights he would come to me looking strange and say: "I am going to hunt rabbits." I knew it was not rabbits, but no woman questions her husband among our people. So I lay alone on my mat, thinking that, perhaps, just now my husband was with Coyote. I wondered what the Comrade would say to him, 159x [593]

4: Joseph et al D,E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

789 but they were also occasions when the rain spirits living over the Gulf were besought to follow the Desert People back to their homes. The Papago believe that official prohibition of these trips through Mexico has brought about a general decrease in rainfall. The circle dances still held on the Reservation are connected with rain-bringing; the Christian groups also have ceremonies to pray for rain, which will be discussed in the following section.

789 778 Another means of bringing the rain is the manipulation of the village fetishes. The fetishes consist of a sacred object; usually a stone, which is kept hidden in the mountains, and a medicine basket, which is kept in the home of the "Keeper of the Smoke." In the old days this official was the head man of the village, who presided at the council meetings in the village "round house" and also directed ceremonial life. After the Spaniards introduced the office of village chief, with authority over secular matters, the Keeper of the Smoke became a purely religious functionary. His duties now are to direct the wine ceremony and to care for the village fetishes, which must be carefully guarded, since they assure the well-being of the village and give supernatural sanctions to its existence. If any unauthorized person, such as a bad medicine man, should handle them, drought and disaster might ensue. Once a year, just before the wine ceremony, the Keeper of the Smoke brings the medicine basket before the men of the village and opens it. The handling of its contents and the wine ceremony together bring the rain.

739 273 Both the handling of the fetishes and many activities of daily life are directed to rain-bringing, but the principal means is the wine ceremony, which occurs after the fruit of the saguaro cactus has been picked in June. From the pulp of the fruit, syrup is made and carried back to the villages to be fermented for use in the ceremony, held sometime during the summer.

When the time has been set, each family donates syrup for ceremonial use, probably about four quarts. This syrup, together with some for family use, is sent to the round house for fermentation in large ollas. During the fermentation period of four nights, the syrup is carefully watched and tested by men who have learned the proper procedure, and all the villagers gather each night to participate in the songs and dancing which aid the process. They sing of clouds, wind, rain, and the growing of crops and perform a simple circle dance around a small fire in the dark night. Everything is done four times. While they sing and dance the medicine men rise and stand quietly, waving their sacred eagle feathers. If the feathers gather moisture or drip, the rain will come soon; if they stay dry, the rain is many days away.

After the medicine men announce that the wine has reached the proper stage of fermentation, they and the singers make set speeches. Then the wine

[Text continues on p. 76- Analyst]

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

789 273 is ceremonially served to each adult in a prescribed order. When it is all consumed, families who have their own ollas invite their friends to join them and all reach a stage of mild intoxication. Many fall asleep. Sooner or later the rain comes—many individuals tell of having been caught in a heavy rain on the way home from a ceremony.

[194] The wine ceremonies are still general over the Reservation, with the exception of the two conservative western districts, where the custom lapsed twenty years ago. This apparent paradox may result from the fact that most of the present western villages were settled within the last two decades from mountain villages which no longer exist. Perhaps the old ceremonies disappeared with these villages.[1] Or perhaps they were discontinued during the quarrels over cattle and white administrative policy that divided the westerners for years. However, in the area around Gu Achi many old ceremonies are said to flourish.

The persistence of the wine ceremony in most parts of the Reservation shows its importance to the majority of the Papago today. Only the Presbyterians refuse to attend. Probably their overt expression would be that "those people over there" believe in such things but good Presbyterians do not; but what many of them really feel may be something different. Their profession of disapproval is a source of sorrow to the believers, but it does not, they feel, lessen the efficacy of the ceremony.

It should be noted that drunkenness is not the objective of the wine ceremony. It is a means to an end—to bring the longed-for rain that will make the fields green and bring food to the Desert People. The Papago feel that the wine brings happiness and song; it is a symbol of the renewal of life with the coming of rain and it is a purification of the mind and heart. The ceremony has a social function of erasing the evil and ill feeling of the past year. The speeches that precede the serving of the wine deal with proper behavior, stressing the old Papago virtues, peacefulness and harmony. It is these things which the ceremonial drunkenness is meant to bring.

733 Of late years other forms of drinking have increased tremendously over the Reservation. At the fiestas there is a good deal of drunkenness which sometimes leads to violence, and there is much drinking which is unconnected with any ceremony. The Papago themselves see the problem and are greatly concerned about it. Women and particularly children are afraid of drunkards and are deeply distressed when the men begin heavy and continuous drinking (see chap. xiv). The women do not mind the drinking itself; what troubles them is that it is done in the wrong spirit. Drinking should bring happiness

1. At one of the modern Hickiwan villages a round house was built about 1941 and wine is made each year, but there is no accompanying ceremony.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

609 439 273 For the Papago a Mexican has one transcendant virtue: he can buy liquor legally, as the Indian cannot do. A Mexican is usually willing to resell it to a Papago at a neat profit and then, at times, when the Papago is drunk, to relieve him of the rest of his money. In any trade relation Mexicans rarely hesitate to take advantage of the Papago, who as a rule are less experienced in money matters. The Papago are aware that the "Smarties" bear watching, and their resentment sometimes breaks out in street fights. For the most part, however, the Papago accept exploitation docilely in order to insure their liquor supply. Furthermore, the Mexican coats the pill with ostentatious familiarity and superficial fraternity.

That the liquor trade is the chief link between the two groups seems apparent from the fact that there are few friendships between individuals and little real social intercourse. The occasional Mexican who works at the Agency is ignored by the Papago; however, this may be due in part to the Mexican's own feeling of superiority. Mixed marriages are frowned upon, and Indians known to have or suspected of having Mexican blood are looked down upon by full-blood Papago.

TRADERS ON THE RESERVATION

609 439 Outside of Sells, the Agency town, the trader may be the only white person living in a Papago village, and his contacts with the Indians may be so intimate that he becomes the chief representative of white culture. Nowadays, with more schools in the remote areas and more visits from government officials, other white contacts on the Reservation are less infrequent, but the trader is still a main channel of white culture.

The influence of the trader and the Indians' attitude toward him vary, of course, with his personality and with the local situation. One of the two white traders in the western districts is a woman who speaks Papago and has sympathy and understanding for Papago ways. She gives the children candy, attends fiestas, and contributes generously to the feasts. In addition, she renders a variety of social services, such as translating and writing letters and driving to bring a medicine man. A trip to her trading post is likely to be an all-day outing, for the Indians come not only to buy but to consult the trader and to ask for her help. They select and pay for their purchases one by one, jokingly haggling over the price of each article. The western people respect as well as like this trader because she allows no one to take advantage of her and stands her ground in conflicting issues; she rents her car at the same rates as Papago owners; and, by keeping informed of cattle sales, she sees that bills are paid when possible. All the Hickiwan Papago are loyal to her and trade with her in preference to any other white on the Reservation.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

883 The adolescent boy is always casual and friendly with the women of the household. When the men are at home, they join the women working under the ramada, and everyone participates in the chatter and joking that ensues. Though most of the time the youth is away from his female relatives, he often stops at the house cluster for a few minutes during the day, bringing the women news of their men and any local gossip he has picked up. He occasionally lifts a heavy article for them or is helpful in some other way but is no longer expected to make himself generally useful around the house.

Outside the household the teen-age boy's most intimate associates are lads of his own age, but he is not limited to boys of his own village, for in herding or at the intervillage roundups he always meets and works with youths from other communities. It is not difficult to maintain these friendships, as a boy can usually catch a ride to another village or go on his own horse.

883 535 Many Papago boys of this age learn to play musical instruments, usually the violin or guitar. They play entirely by ear, learning the Mexican and American dance tunes from phonograph records. Two or three lads may spend many hours practicing together; the others always enjoy listening. Rarely does a boy under eighteen become proficient enough to play in the orchestra at a fiesta, except as a drummer, but, if he is an unusually good musician, he may replace a violinist or guitarist while the older man rests or eats.

883 527 292 Fiestas are great occasions for adolescent boys. They help to clean and decorate the dance ground and feast house. They keep the fires going and spread hot coals near the women's benches. For the celebration they dress in colorful cowboy clothes: freshly polished high-heeled boots, wide-brimmed hats, new jeans, bright silk shirts, and often leather belts or wristguards studded with colored glass.

882 527 273 The boys take no part in the religious phase of the fiesta, nor do they enter the church for rest as the girls of their age do. As they are too young to associate freely with men, but yet feel themselves much too grown up to stay with the women or play with small boys, the lads usually stand about the big fires and sometimes loiter around the parked cars where the bootleggers do business. It is not uncommon for boys as young as sixteen to have whiskey at a fiesta, but ordinarily they do much less drinking than the men. Some of the boys cannot afford expensive bootleg whiskey, and others are still under the influence of their mothers and grandmothers, who dread heavy drinking. [276] At any rate, few teen-age boys are involved in drunken fighting. Boys smoke openly and without fear of reprimand as soon as they have money for cigarettes.

883 The boys do not dance so constantly as the girls of their age, for they never

[Text continues on p. 156 - Analyst]

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

883 464 [465] always get odd jobs, such as mowing lawns, in the cities. Almost every youth in the western districts works at the Ajo mine at sometime between the ages of eighteen and thirty. Here at unskilled labor he can earn $3.00 a day; in wartime wages ran as high as $7.00.

883 466 563 Papago youth in mines, in cotton fields, or on ranches work side by side with other Indians or Mexicans and have little direct contact with whites. White employers treat the Indians with friendliness and often make concessions to retain good workers. But away from work the Indians live together or with Mexicans and Chinese in the poorer quarters of the city, so that it is the lower strata of economic life in Arizona with which they become familiar. They do not, however, experience some of the discriminations endured by minority groups in many parts of the country: most cafes serve Indians, and they are not segregated at the movies and other public places.

883 593 273 [548] Young people working off the Reservation are relatively free from family influence, and, though many send part of their wages home, they still have much more money to spend than they ever had before. Now and then girls on their own in the city drift into trouble and are sent home, but they seldom become recognized prostitutes. Boys are likely to spend a good deal of their new-found wealth on liquor; their families at home expect the boys to do some drinking, still they worry lest the lads become involved in brawls that will lead to the white man's jail.

883 671 The youth himself is terrified of the law. Instead of being reassured by the supposedly impersonal and impartial character of white men's justice, he fears what seems to him its rigid inflexibility. If he does wrong at home, his family may lecture him or even call in the village elders to talk to him about the error of his ways, but the youth knows that he will be judged on his own merits and not on what is written down in a white man's book. Most important, he will not be shut up far from his family and his desert.

883 582 Sometimes young people marry when they leave the Reservation to take jobs. By and large, however, they go for only short periods or at most a few years. Family ties may become tenuous, but they are seldom broken. The wage-earner usually sends money home and expects to return to the village some day.

GETTING READY FOR MARRIAGE

562 [786] Papago boys and girls do not associate in unchaperoned groups, for the girls are kept under constant surveillance. In the old days a girl who went unaccompanied away from the house cluster was considered fair game for any man or boy. Even today in her home village a girl never goes anywhere alone, unless

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

EMOTIONAL PATTERNS OF PAPAGO CHILDREN

The Papago child who mentions money as the best thing thus shows an attitude apparently similar to and often identical with the one who names fiestas, a doll, a horse, or food. Money for him has, as for his elders, the significance of immediate gratification. Here the desires and the needs of an ancient premonetary culture are met with the tools of a recently introduced, alien socioeconomic and cultural system.

After urgent needs have been satisfied, money is used chiefly to obtain the sort of pleasure specific to old Papago culture, i.e., wholehearted and complete relaxation after the tension of work. The fact that the means of attaining such relaxation have changed has already led, and threatens to lead increasingly, to the disintegration of the individual and the group.

Before money played an appreciable role in Papago life, relaxation was found mainly in the common ceremonial gatherings which were regularly repeated between intervals of certain work. At some of these gatherings a number of behavior restrictions were temporarily lifted, and, in the eyes of his people, the individual had wide license to seek personal pleasure. At one of the main ceremonial gatherings—the wine ceremony—wine from the juice of the saguaro cactus played an essential role in inducing the desired relaxation. Becoming drunk to unconsciousness from this wine was seen as a magic device, symbolic of the rain that drenches the earth into fertility. Perhaps in this state of ritual drunkenness, a dream was sometimes hoped for and received.

With the advent of money, pleasure and relaxation which had previously been institutionalized, anticipated for months, prepared for by the whole community, and enjoyed by the individual with approval of the group could be bought by the wage-earner for himself alone and for his near-relatives and friends. What he got for his money was, however, very different from the pleasure his people had been trained for and had delighted in for centuries.

The Papago can buy necessary food, clothes, blankets, and tools on the Reservation, but pleasures as he wants them are not for sale. In the nearest towns, what few opportunities for amusement are available and comprehensible to him—a rare circus performance, a football game, the celebrations and parades of holidays, the movies—are full of the spirit of an alien culture, and he participates in them as an Indian among whites, as a stranger in a foreign country.

The only pleasure on sale which resembles the one he is used to (and at the same time can make him oblivious to the problems and conflicts arising from new and changed conditions) is alcohol. The sale of alcohol to Indians is illegal, and drunkenness is condemned by the government under whose

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

273 153 517 556 administration he is living. But the Papago carries in himself the encouraging remembrance of traditional ceremonial sanctions; challenging the law made by white people, he spends a great deal of his money on drinks bought in town or smuggled across the Mexican border onto the Reservation.

Though drunkenness resulting from whiskey or gin gives the Papago pleasure of complete relaxation, and perhaps even dreams, it lacks the assurance and security which derive from the unity of purpose and common approval granted to everybody in the drinking ceremonials. Its magic and religious justification will gradually pale before a growing addiction to the pleasure of drink itself. There is no doubt that with increased wage-earning the number of acts of violence, of disturbed family relations from drunkenness, of Papago men apprehended and jailed for this reason on the Reservation and in town, has steadily risen. We shall return to these facts in chapter xvii, and we shall learn how conscious the children are of them.

153 356 Because of the subordinate function of money as a means of prestige and achievement among the Papago, and because of its quite preponderant conversion into a pleasure which, though similar to the traditional relaxation, lacks most of the constructive value of its model, the high rank of money among the best things mentioned by western Papago children seems alarming. This part of the Reservation is the least acculturated to the spirit of modern white civilization. At the same time, it is driven by its economic predicament to make use of the modern white system of wage work. The conditions surrounding this wage work—mainly in the cotton fields and mines—are not such as to further a psychological and spiritual adjustment to white culture. The incorporation of the money concept into the values of western Papago children seems to indicate that this paradoxical and disruptive situation is being increasingly accepted by their group.

In the eastern children's answers, money as the best thing does not occupy a conspicuous place. Here, though wage work is also done in the cotton fields or for the government, the need for it is less vital. While the Papago principle of pleasure is operating here too, and drunkenness is a similar problem, longer and more continuous contacts with noneconomic aspects of white civilization—in the near-by Agency, in the many and more regularly attended schools, in the missions—have apparently brought about change of values. School, the prestige of a "nice" job, work itself, and good character are of some importance in the East but are not mentioned in the West.

153 In both communities personal achievement is valued more highly as a best thing than as a pleasant experience. Perhaps this is partly due to schooling (which itself has competitive elements) and to the models of personal achieve-

6: Densmore E-5 (1920)1929 NU28 Papago NU28

No. 97. "The Dwelling Place of the Sun" 533X
(Catalogue No. 1065)

Recorded by LEONARDO RIOS

TRANSLATION

In the east is the dwelling place of the sun.
On top of this dwelling place the sun comes up and travels over our heads.
Below we travel.
I raise my right hand to the sun and then stroke my body in the ceremonial manner.

Analysis.—The change of tempo is the chief characteristic of this song, which has the same range and tone material as the two next preceding. The most frequent interval is a semitone and the song contains no unit of rhythm.

At the close of the ceremony a song with these words was sung (free translation): "Sadly we will go home. We have danced and been happy. We have seen our friends. Now we go to our distant homes wondering when we will come together again." [796]

THE VIKITA

The purpose of this ceremony was the securing of rain and good crops. The manner of its observance differed in the northern and southern parts of the reservation and information on the subject was obtained in each of these localities.[20] 796

The two observances are alike in the presence of "navico" or clowns, and in the carrying of representations of whatever was desired in abundance. A representation of the sun was also carried in both ceremonies. One difference between the customs was the drinking of *tiswin*, which formed part of the southern ceremony and was absent in the northern. Tiswin is the term commonly applied to a native wine made from the fruit of the saguaro cactus. [273]

[20] Cf. "New Trails in Mexico," by Carl Lumholtz, pp. 99-99; "The Papago Harvest Festival," by J. Alden Mason, in the American Anthropologist, vol. 22, no. 1, pp. 13-25; "The Papago Ceremony of Vikita," by Edward H. Davis, Indian Notes and Monographs, vol. iii, no. 4, Museum of the American Indian, New York, 1920.

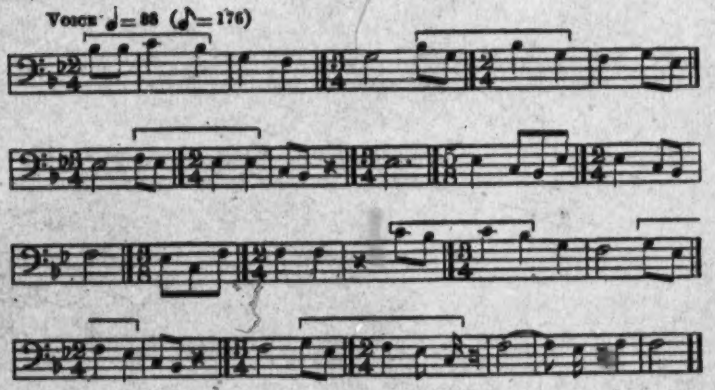
6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

Y 533

No. 103. "A Flaming Light in the East"

(Catalogue No. 1008)

Recorded by JOSE MANUEL



TRANSLATION

We see the light that brightens in the east,
It seems to turn to flame,
On the edge of it is something that looks like a white feather,
But we see that it is white clouds.

Analysis.—This particularly pleasing melody is classified with B-flat as the keynote, though the third above that tone does not occur. The tone material is that of the first five-toned scale, in which the third and seventh tones of the octave are omitted. It is interesting to note the difference of accent in measures 1 to 3 and 16 to 18. The rests and the time in the 3–8 and 5–8 measures were given with clearness.

THE RAIN CEREMONY

796 In the early part of August the Papago held a festival at which the medicine men made divinations for rain. This was in accordance with an ancient custom and was accompanied by the drinking of a wine made from the fruit of the saguaro cactus and commonly called "tiswin."[230] The principal informants on this subject were Jose Antoin, of Sells, and Mattias Hendricks, of Vomari. Practically the only difference in the two narratives was that informants at Hendricks village, in the extreme south of the reservation, said that songs were received by men while under the influence of the native wine. Information was also obtained from Sivariano Garcia, of San Xavier, but in this, as in the account of the bamboo game contest, his account was said by the informants to be the Pima version. Jose Antoin is chief of the rather large village of Pisinamak, and a small village called

[273]

115

[230] The Papago designation is ha'ʻan (saguaro cactus) na'ʻsi (drink).

6: Densmore E-5 (1920)1929 NU28 Papago NU28

Harimak. He had acted as leader of the entire tiswin ceremony. His father was chief and he would have inherited the office at his father's death, as he was the oldest son, but he was so reluctant to accept the office that he left the village. He remained away several years until the people sent for him and the Government representative in charge of the reservation authorized his election as chief. The village obtained its name in the following manner: A war party killed a certain animal, brought home its head and put it in a tree. One of the early priests saw this and asked what they called it. They could not explain, and he said it was the head of a *Pisin* (Spanish word). After that time the village was called Pisinamak, the latter part of the word meaning "head" in the Papago language. Hendricks is chief at Vomari village.

Antoin related the following origin of the custom of making and drinking tiswin and said the incident took place at his village. There was once a woman who had a little boy. She wanted to go to another village to play *thoka* (a woman's game), so she put the child [a] to bed, placed food and water beside him, and left him alone. After a while the child awakened, ate the food, and followed his mother. He came to where they were playing the game and sat down. A woman running around in the game would see the child and say, "I found a little child;" and the mother would say, "Let him alone; he belongs to me." When the game was finished the mother took up the child, tied a cloth around his head, and stuck a feather in the cloth. Then the little boy went and played with the other children. All went well until the other children began to tease the little boy, saying he was too proud of his feather. The child stood it as long as he could, then he said that perhaps there was something inside his head of which he could be more proud than of his feather. He made a circle on the ground, stood inside it and began to sink into the ground. Some of the children said, "We had better tell his mother." One child ran and told, but when his mother got there he had sunk entirely out of sight except the feather. His mother took that out, then she went to work and called the badger, who is the best digger, and told him to catch up to the boy and bring him back. The badger dug as hard as possible but he could not overtake the boy. Then the mother called all the birds together and said, "Which of you can find a lost boy?" The crow said, "I think I can find him." The crow started and found the boy in the Kiyota Mountains. He returned and told the mother. Then the people said, "Let us go to the Kiyota Mountains and see how the boy looks." They went and found the boy standing there. The mother wanted him to go home, but the boy said, "No; I want to stay in the hills, but I will be of use to my people." Then he turned slowly into a saguaro cactus and told the people what to do. He told

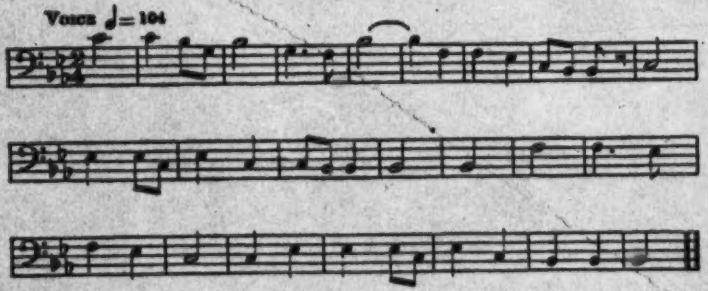
[a] Throughout this narrative the term used to designate this boy is Ali, the Papago term for "child."

6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

X 539 273 them to take the fruit to a house, mash it and boil it about an hour and a half, then they were told to strain it through a matting of grass, put it in an olla and seal it up. His mother said to the people, "Now you must do something in return for this." A young man said, "What can we do? We do not know about this." Then the child began to sing the following song. It was the first of many songs, probably more than a hundred, which he gave to the people, saying they were to be used in a ceremony to bring rain.

X 533 No. 104. "I Draw the Rain" (Catalogue No. 1073)

Recorded by JOSE ANTOIN



TRANSLATION

Here I am sitting and with my power I draw the south wind toward me. After the wind I draw the clouds, and after the clouds I draw the rain that makes the wild flowers grow on our home ground and look so beautiful.

Analysis.—This melody has a compass of nine tones, beginning on the highest and ending on the lowest tone of the compass. The tonality is major but half the intervals are minor thirds. No change of time occurs in the song. A quarter note followed by two eighth notes occurs three times, forming part of longer and different phrases. A reversal of these count divisions also occurs, but neither seems a rhythmic unit of the song.

X 539 273 Antoin said, "This is the way in which the tiswin ceremony started, and that is why we believe that if we make tiswin and go through the same action as when the custom was started we will have rain that day or very soon." [1]

X 539 273 261 The child told the people to continue this custom as long as there were any Papago living, and said that if they ever stopped this custom there would be no more rain. He said that the people must eat wild vegetables and that if they ever stopped eating wild food they would lose their vitality and not be able to stand exposure. (The informant said he will believe this as long as he lives, for he sees conditions as

[1] A different tradition is given by Russell, op. cit., pp. 213, 245, 2[illegible].

6: Densmore E-5 (1920)1929 NU28 Papago NU28

they were predicted. He said, "At that time men wore nothing but the G string. They rose before daylight and went out to look for Apache. See! If young men do this now they get sick and can stand nothing; they take cold and die.")

Preparations for the saguaro festival began in June when the fruit of the saguaro cactus was gathered. The fruit grows at the top of the cactus, which is a column 20 to 40 feet in height. The implement used in gathering the fruit is a long pole with a hook at the end. Much importance is attached to the shape of the hook, and the group of stars known as the Big Dipper is called the Cactus Hook because of a fancied resemblance. The work of gathering the fruit and making the sirup was done in places called cactus camps, several families combining in the work. The equipment of such a camp consisted of a thatch in a tree, on which the cactus fruit was spread to dry, and a covered fireplace. A few ollas were usually left in the camp and were not disturbed by travelers. A deserted camp south of Santa Rosa was visited and photographed. (Pl. 19, *a*, *b*.)

The cactus fruit was boiled in water, strained through a mat of grass or branches to remove seeds, etc., the juice was then boiled down to a sirup and placed in ollas, and sealed with a bit of broken pottery covered with mud. At the time of the ceremony these ollas were opened and the sirup mixed with water and allowed to ferment, making "tiswin." Smaller ollas were also filled for household use, as the sirup mixed with water and not fermented is a pleasing drink in hot weather. The sirup might be either light or heavy and could be kept for a year. If kept for a long time the color became dark. A similar drink was made from the fruit of the "organ-pipe" cactus.

The following incident was related concerning one of these camps. It was said that while the older people were busy with their work seven children strayed away from the camp and were lost. Their parents searched for them several days but could not find them. In the camp there was a man whose dreams usually came true. When the parents could not find the children they went to him. One night he "dreamed a song" and the next morning he saddled a pony and went to a place called Vĭĭnikŭt. When he got to the place he found footprints of children and followed them all over the mountain. Finally he saw a boy in the bushes. He got down, tied his horse, and went toward the boy. When the boy saw the man coming he ran farther into the bushes, told the other children and they all ran away. The man chased and finally caught them and brought them home. They had been lost for eight days and would have perished without water.

The song heard by the medicine man in his dream told him that the children had not died of thirst. It had rained where they were and the water had stayed in a little "water hole." The children had

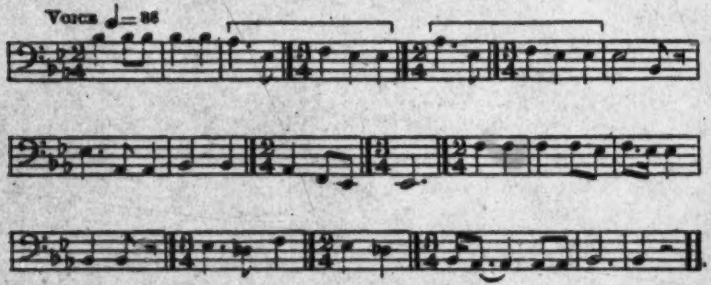
6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

X 533 found this and drunk the water. In old times Vitnikût was farm land, but the parents of the children did not remember this nor think the children might have strayed there.

No. 105. Song Concerning the Lost Children

(Catalogue No. 995)

Recorded by MATTHIAS HENDRICKS



TRANSLATION

Vitnikût fields I got into.
I stayed there and my heart will be wet enough to last.

Analysis.—In this song concerning the lost children we have a wandering melody with the unusual compass of 12 tones. An ascending ninth occurs midway through the song and the ascending interval at the close suggests a query. A quarter of the intervals are fourths, which is an unusually large proportion of this interval. It is interesting to compare the rhythmic unit with measures 8 and 9 and 16 and 17, in which the note values are the same but the accent is different.

344 The lodge for the making of tiswin was erected near the lodge of
796 the chief at Santa Rosa. This was visited and photographed.
(Pl. 19, *c*.) It was round in shape with only one opening, a door
● 273 toward the east. The lodge consisted of a framework covered with
grass having tree branches or the long stems of the ocatillo cactus on
276 the outside. Preparation for the August festival included the making of a large quantity of cigarettes for every one to use freely. These were made of native tobacco, rolled in corn husks.

796 The persons taking part in the ceremony comprised a leader for
273 the entire ceremony, the men who mixed the tiswin and one man who tasted it, four men who watched the ollas in the lodge during the period of fermentation, four medicine men who made the rain divinations, and the singers, whose number was not prescribed, though 16 was the usual number, this permitting four men to be seated at and between the cardinal points during the distribution of the wine. At the four cardinal points were shallow holes with straw in them. The ollas were placed in these holes during the period of fermentation.

6: Densmore E-5 (1920)1929 NU28 Papago NU28

273
417

a, Thatch on which cactus fruit is dried

b, Place where cactus fruit is boiled

273
344

c, Lodge in which tiswin is made

6: Densmore E-5 (1920)1929 NU28 Papago NU28

273 796 The boiling of the fruit of the cactus into sirup and its storing in ollas has been mentioned on a previous page. The wine was made by mixing this sirup with water and subjecting it to heat until it fermented, when it was drunk at once. Cold water was placed in a large basket and the sirup added, the usual proportion being about half a pint of sirup to a gallon or a gallon and a half of water. A woman was never allowed to mix the tiswin, but she could bring the water if she desired. It was the belief that if a woman mixed the tiswin the people who drank it would do nothing but cry. The water and sirup were stirred with the hands, a requirement being that no implement be used. When the sirup was first put in the water one of the mixers said, "I am now mixing you up. Do me the favor to bring good wind and clouds and rain, and to keep the people from bad behavior after they have drunk the wine." This portion of the work was under the direction of an expert or "taster." From time to time the mixers took some of the sirup and water in a cup and gave it to the taster, who said "add more water," or "more sirup," according to his judgment. The entire quantity was enough to fill four ollas, each of which held 5 or 6 gallons. When the taster was satisfied with the mixture, it was poured into the ollas, which had been set in the straw at the cardinal points, and the ollas were covered tightly. This was done about the middle of the day, the door was tightly closed, and the ollas remained in the lodge that night, the next day, and the following night, the wine often being ready to use about 9 o'clock on the following morning. A fire was made outside the lodge in front of and a short distance from the door, and coals from this fire were brought and placed in the middle of the lodge to supply an even heat and induce the desired fermentation. The wood used for this fire was mesquite and ironwood, which hold the heat for a long time, giving out a gentle heat.

273 796 X533 Four men watched the fermentation of the wine, two being on duty during the day and two during the night. These men also passed the wine to the people when it was finished. Their station in the lodge while watching the ollas was between the east and north ollas. They lay down most of the time, as it was very warm in the lodge, and they sang most of the time without accompaniment. If they were lying down when they began to sing they were required to sing four songs before rising. Either man could suggest a song or they could consult as to what song they would sing next, but there must be four songs. Among the songs of the watchers were the two next following.

6: Densmore E-5 (1920)1929 NU28 Papago NU28

Another song of the same class which was not transcribed contained these words: "Spotted Mountain, at the top rises a white wind. The white wind makes the spotted mountain into a white mountain. At the top of the white mountain rose a white eagle. I saw it and my heart began to fail me. I scarcely knew what to do."

The watchers inspected the ollas frequently to see how the fermentation was progressing. If some fault occurred near the beginning of the process it was possible to begin over, throwing out the wine and making fresh. The watchers, for instance, might report that moisture was on the outside of an olla. This indicated a slight leak and the wine was emptied into another olla. It was expected that the fermenting wine would rise to the top of the olla and sometimes run over a little. This should occur four times. After it had risen to the top of the olla the third time it was tasted and if it were not doing well the taster and the leader of the ceremony knew what to do. Sometimes a medicine man had interfered and used magic to spoil the wine. In that case it would bubble up, then die down, and get cold, and the people knew it would turn into sour water. If such a man were detected he might be whipped or even expelled from the village. While the wine was fermenting the medicine men were trying to locate rain. Four men combined in this work but only two were seated in the circle when the tiswin was drunk. These were men who had been qualified by dreams or had "met some strange thing at night." Their actions in trying to locate the rain were similar to those when trying to locate the enemy, on the warpath. The gestures were so much a matter of individuality that no action can be said to be typical. Those who had seen the performance said that some men used a wand, some an arrow, and others made gestures with their hands. A man might hold up an arrow and move it through the air as if testing the direction, or he might extend his right hand before him and his left hand behind him, motioning to the singers if he wanted them to sing faster or louder, as though he felt that he had found the direction of what he sought. An informant said that he saw a man make the rain divination at a tiswin festival and he "made motions with a little stick with a feather on the end." He moved the stick downward and water dripped from the end and was caught in a bottle. The man turned and sprinkled the water on the people. Some fell on this informant and the water felt hot. The medicine man said, "This water is so hot that the clouds will soon pass after a short shower, but to-morrow afternoon there will be a cool, abundant rain." It happened as the man had predicted. In reply to a direct inquiry the informants said that the medicine man did not cause the rain but "located and predicted it."

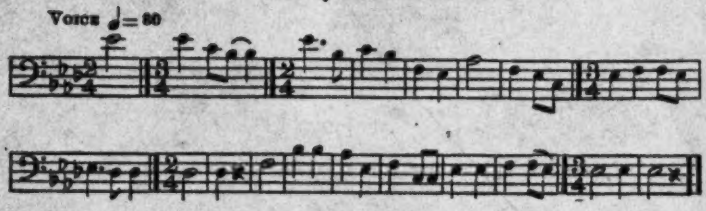
6: Densmore Σ-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

X533 The following song was sung during the rain divination:

No. 108. Song During Rain Divination

(Catalogue No. 1032)

Recorded by JOSE HENDRICKS



TRANSLATION

The eagle wing, under that I sat with the tiswin,
I drank that and I am well drunk.
The water that gathered on the blue hawk feathers at the end of the vasi,
I drank of that and was staggered.

Analysis.—This song is characterized by the frequency of the fourth which constitutes 7 of the 25 progressions. Certain simple measure divisions occur more than once, but these short phrases are so closely intertwined that it is difficult to separate one and designate it as a rhythmic unit. The emphasis upon D flat occurring midway through the song is unusual and interesting.

796 The people assembled to the number of 100 or more for the drinking
273 of the tiswin. All were in gala attire but few were painted except
those who were to serve the tiswin. In old times there was a special
[386] paint for use at this festival, made of white clay and a soft black mud
ground together. The wine was served as soon as it was ready,
which frequently was about 9 o'clock in the morning.

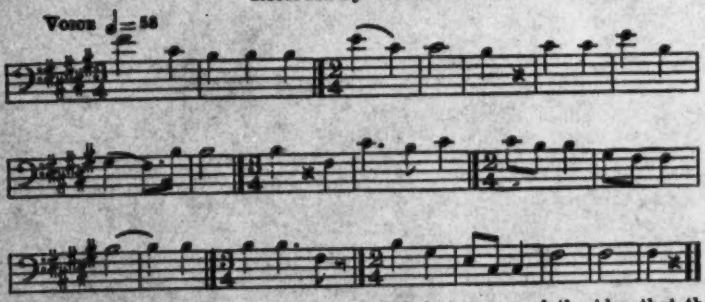
The circle of people were seated at the east of the lodge, opposite
796 the door, and there was a fire in the center of the circle. One singer
X533 sat at each of the cardinal points, and there were three singers between
273 each of these singers. Those who were seated at the cardinal points
were the leaders and had their faces painted half white and half red.
They were painted in pairs, the man at the north having the left half
of his face painted white, and the man at the south having the right
side of his face white, while the man at the east had his left cheek,
and the man at the west had his right cheek white.

At the east a medicine man sat at the left of the singer and at the
796 west a medicine man sat at the right of the singer. Each of the four
273 men appointed to distribute the wine carried a basket filled with
tiswin. (Pl. 10, *b*.) Two of these men were stationed at the eastern
part of the circle and two at the western. The two at the east set
their baskets in front of the singer at the east, and those at the west

6: Densmore E-5 (1920)1929 NU28 Papago NU28

placed their baskets before the singer at that point. He extended his hands, side by side, hanging downward from the wrists so that the fingers almost touched the wine, then he held them up with the fingers pointed toward the sun. He repeated this four times and after the fourth time he made a sweeping gesture to include the full circle of the earth. Then the two men carrying the baskets separated, one going to the right and the other to the left. There were cups in the basket, and the wine was offered to everyone. The following song was sung while the wine was distributed.

No. 109. Song While Tiswin is Distributed
(Catalogue No. 1058)
Recorded by VICTORIA



(The words of this song were not recorded, but expressed the idea that the tiswin brought the wind and clouds.)

Analysis.—The tempo of this song is particularly slow. The song is analyzed with B as the keynote but the third above that tone does not appear. The intervals are wide, one-third being intervals of a fourth. Attention is directed to the descent of a seventh in measures 7 and 8, and the three descending thirds in the fourth and fifth measures from the close.

Many songs were sung during the distribution of the wine. The leader of the ceremony could say to the man at the east, "Start a song." He would sing it four times in a moderate voice for the others to listen, and then say louder, "All join." Then this singer at the east would say to the singer at the north, "I pass it to you," meaning that the singer at the north was to start a song. If he could not, he would say, "I pass it on," meaning that the singer at the west was to start a song. It might go around in this way, back to the man at the east, and it would be his turn to start another song. Jose Antoin said that no accompanying instrument was used in his village, but that in another village the singers walked around and shook a rattle while they were singing, although the customs connected with the songs were similar in other respects.

6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

796 When the wine had been passed around once the men who distributed it stood silent and erect behind the singers while a speech was
273 made, usually by a man dressed as if old and poor. Anyone who knew the speech could make it. His clothing was ragged, he had white clay on his hair, and walked with a cane. The speech was as follows:

796 "My friends and relatives, you drink the wine I have prepared expressly for you, and if any have power to draw rain from the east where stand the oldest ruins (in that old ruin lives the lightning doctor whose name is Mocking Bird) let the man ask the Mocking Bird doctor to send the best kind of wind and after that the best kind of clouds. Ask him to send the white clouds and after that the black clouds, and to make them cover the whole earth as they come toward us. The sky looks so high to us, and the clouds start from the earth and extend to the sky. In them is the thunder and the lightning which we welcome because we know they bring good to us. We hear the sound of the thunder in the mountains around us. Let us all join in our feeling to have the rain. Let us all be glad to see the water running in the little washes to moisten the fields where we plant our seed. Let us see the shape of the edges of the washes that look so beautiful to us. The plants that come up will be green and beautiful in the field, and when they have finished growing we will get the food for which we are now hoping.

"From our center turn your thoughts toward the east where stand the white ruins. In those ruins are white winds and white clouds. Have your feeling and ask for the rain to be sent to us. From those ruins come the white winds and white clouds which contain the heaviest rain. From our center turn your thoughts toward the west where stand the black ruins. In those ruins are black winds and black clouds. Have your feeling and ask for the rain to be sent to us. From those ruins come the black winds and black clouds which contain the heaviest rain. From our center turn your thoughts toward the north. There stand the green ruins. In those ruins are green winds and green clouds. Have your feeling and ask for the rain to be sent to us. From those ruins will come that which will make all green things on the earth grow faster. From our center turn your thoughts toward the south where stand the yellow ruins. In those ruins are yellow flowers. Have your feeling and ask for the rain to be sent to us. From those ruins will come the yellow clouds, that will be the finishing touch on our plants and on all things that grow on the earth. In finishing we have our feeling toward the four points of the winds and are sure we will get some help from the four ruins."

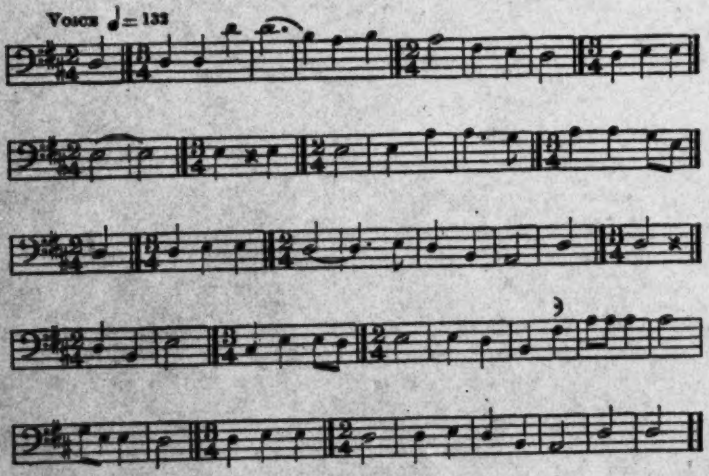
796 After making this speech the man was addressed by a term of
273 relationship or as "friend." Only this one speech was made. The men with the baskets then carried the wine around the circle. If

6: Densmore E-5 (1920)1929 NU28 Papago NU28

there was not enough they replenished it; if there was too much they continued to go around the circle until it was gone.

The effect of the wine was said to be a general "good feeling," and to last a night and a day. Jose Antoin said that no songs were received while under the influence of the wine, but informants at Vomari village said that songs were thus received. Rafael Mendez (pl. 16, *c*) said that a man who had drunk the tiswin once saw Coyote come toward him. The man began to come to his senses and Coyote sang and taught him many songs. The number was said to be about one hundred. The first of these songs was the following:

No. 110. "A Blue Wind" (Catalogue No. 1026)
Recorded by RAFAEL MENDEZ



TRANSLATION

A blue wind.
I saw the tracks on the blue mountain.
Inside that mountain I found a bamboo plant growing.
From there I saw a seven-headed mountain running low from east to west.

Analysis.—The ascent of an octave at the opening of this song is unusual, and is followed by a downward gliding of the voice. The movement of the melody is free and the ascending and descending intervals are equal in number. Attention is directed to the ascent of a seventh in two progressions, at the twelfth measure from the close. Like many other Papago songs, this is distinctly different from the songs of the white race.

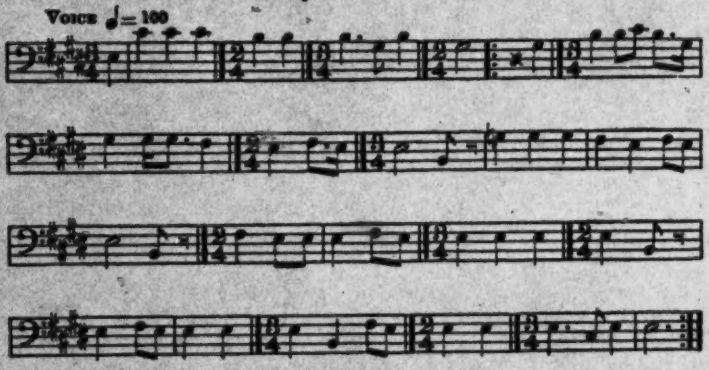
The man said that Coyote put his hands on him and ran them along from his head to his feet. Then he began to come to his senses. This experience was made the subject of the following song, the words of which were not recorded.

6: Densmore E-5 (1920)1929 NU28 Papago NU28

No. 112. "You Make Me Drink Red Water" 533X

(Catalogue No. 979)

Recorded by MATTHIAS HENDRICKS



TRANSLATION

A red water you made me drink,
When I was drunk I went around as though I would fall down,
I fell on the ground face downward.

Analysis.—This song contains six sorts of ascending and four sorts of descending intervals, which is an unusual variety. It is a particularly pleasing melody and a majority of its phrases are four measures in length. The lowering of the third adds interest to the song.

A somewhat different tradition of the origin of the rain ceremony had been given by Sivariano Garcia of San Xavier village. This was read to Jose Antoin, who said that he had heard an old man relate it and that it was the Pima tradition. Garcia's narrative is as follows: Long ago, when the Papago first came to this region, there was no water and the medicine men brought rain. The custom began at Casa Grande. A medicine man living there made a long cactus, but he did not like it. He picked the fruit when it was so dry that the seeds were ready to fall. He handed it to one of his men, saying, "Take it back, I do not like it here." This man met Coyote, who wanted the seeds. The man handed them to him, and then wanted to get them back, but Coyote instead of giving them back held his hand high, and scattered them broadcast. The wind was blowing toward the north, therefore the giant cactus is everywhere growing on the south slope of the mountains and in low places. Garcia said that the medicine man made his cactus sink down in the earth, but it came up on the mountain called Kihotawak.[346] A bird was flying over the mountain and saw the cactus. He picked some of the fruit

796 273 789 [103]

[346] This mountain is named from its resemblance to an inverted burden basket (kihi).

6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

796 273 789

and took it back to the village, and the people made it into wine. They put the wine in ollas, and the second morning it was ready to drink. Two or four villages united in making the wine. At this time the medicine men worked to get a knowledge of the rain. If their report was favorable the people planted their crops in a few days. If a medicine man could not locate the rain the first night he worked part of the next day and part or all of the next night, but if three or four men worked at the same time they could find the rain sooner. Garcia said that he had frequently been present at this ceremony and had learned many of its songs, four of which he recorded. If the people moved about the place they walked gently and slowly so as not to distract the attention of the medicine man who went around slowly, beginning at the east, then going to the north, west, and south to see if he could feel a cool breeze. In summer the rain came from the east, later from the north, and in winter or spring from the west. He felt in all directions to see if he could detect rain, and when he thought that he had the right direction he tried to bring the rain from thence. In doing this he used the means that were given him when he was made a medicine man. In the old days a man was not afraid of a test of his power. For instance, he would take in his hand the driest thing he could find and would squeeze water out of it.

X 533

The people sang to increase the power of the medicine men, this being similar to the custom of "singing for the medicine men" when they were trying to locate the enemy for a war party. (See p. 183 in which the people sang with the doctor in treating the sick, thus putting forth their power to supplement his.)

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

here also bees deposit their honey and bats make their homes. Sometimes rabbits attack the stem to get at the juicy pulp. 137

To the Indians the sahuaro is invaluable, and by tacit understanding they consider it a crime to cut one down. The grateful fruit comes at a time when most needed, and the Indians leave their habitations to camp among the sahuaro as long as the season lasts. Not only does the fruit then furnish them with their principal means of subsistence, but the greater part is boiled down to a sirup for future consumption in the winter, serving also as material for an intoxicating drink, which is used at the sahuaro festival. The seeds, too, are eaten after having first been ground on the metate, and they taste better than would be expected; the Indians also feed their fowls with them and many sackfuls are brought back to the houses after the sahuaro harvest. The wooden skeletons or ribs of the sahuaro furnish the Papago with light, strong, and elastic building stuff, and from the same material he makes the long stick which is needed to bring the fruit down from its lofty elevation, coloring the pole red with the juice of the fruit. Also chicken coops, chairs, traps, and similar articles of the household are manufactured from sahuaro ribs. Even the wooden tissue bags produced by the woodpeckers are made to serve as water bottles or drinking vessels. 222 [252] 273 [342] [322] [415]

So important a part does this cactus play in the life of the Papago that their year begins with the sahuaro harvest. The season lasts from the middle of June till the middle of July. Every rancheria is supposed to make [805] 222 796

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

a feast for the occasion, which will insure rain and good crops. An essential part of the festival is the drinking of wine, produced by mixing the sahuaro sirup in a certain proportion with water and allowing this to ferment. The name of this greatest festival of the year is *naváita*, derived from *návait*, their word for the wine.

Elder Brother, so their tradition runs, created the sahuaro by placing beads of his perspiration in the ground. He walked in ceremonial circuits around it for four days, and the plant began to give fruit. He also made a jar in which he put the juice of the fruit which he mixed with water. "Let us see if we can not make rain with this to refresh the thirsty soil," he said to the jar. And its contents became wine, and it began to rain, as he thought it would. Therefore, to this day, the Papago make sahuaro wine and celebrate a great feast in accordance with Elder Brother's commandments. The wine was given by him in order that they might get drunk, and then rain would follow.

On our arrival at the rancheria of Noria we learned that the wine making had been started that morning. The festival was to begin in the evening, the singing and dancing lasting as usual for two nights, by the end of which time the wine would be ready for consumption. An hour after dark, as we were preparing our supper, a loud Indian voice from the other side of the arroyo on which we were camped sounded forth in the dark, still night, inviting people to gather for the festival. Standing in front of the medicine lodge, facing the east, the herald announced over and over again: "Darkness has

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

their enthusiastic efforts to make an impression on the gods.

The next morning, when I went to inspect the place in daylight, I found the leader and other functionaries sleeping peacefully on the ground under the jacal in front of the lodge, tired from their exertions of the night. I was permitted to enter the lodge, where large earthenware jars were standing full to overflowing with the precious sahuaro fluid. A slight cavity had been dug in the ground for each jar, serving as a receptacle and covered with branches of greasewood upon which the jar rested neatly. The reason for this arrangement, according to the Indians, was to keep the fluid warm and because they had always done it in this way. Heavy spume was rising from most of the jars, showing that fermentation was taking place. A fire was kept up in the lodge in order that the temperature of the air should be even and favorable for fermentation. The solemn function of mixing the sahuaro sirup with water takes place in the morning hours under the jacal outside.

The lodge was a circular, dome-shaped grass hut, the ancient form of Papago habitation, examples of which are still frequently seen in the central part of the Papaguería. The lodge, however, is larger than the dwelling-house, hence its name Kûki, "Big House." (*Ku*, big, large.) This was rather a small one, twelve feet in diameter and six feet high, and scrupulously clean inside. The framework of these primitive houses consists of mezquite posts; from two to four forked uprights in the middle support the dome-shaped roof, which is made of sa-

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

mediately succeeded by others, and when finally, after two hours, the weather calmed, the arroyo at the back of the houses was roaring as if in joy at being born a river again. Before the rain was over the children were playing in the newly made ponds. Soon the grown-ups appeared on the scene, all much animated. While Pablo and I started to dry and clean our things, they enthusiastically resumed their interrupted preparations for making the wine, which was to play such an important part in the approaching sahuaro feast. Juan had already evacuated his hut the day before in order to devote it to wine making. Early in the morning men had brought large earthen jars belonging to his and the neighboring houses, and the jars were now resting safely in cavities that had been dug in the earthen floor of the hut, twigs of fresh greasewood as usual forming their immediate support.

As soon as the rains ceased a procession of women started off to fetch the necessary water for the wine making. The cheery women, each superbly supporting a shining olla on her head, looked picturesque as they walked one after the other through the greasewood bushes in the beautiful light after the storm. Two trips had to be made and the full jars were all deposited outside of the house, to be used as soon as the clay vessels containing the sahuaro sirup were opened; of these there were a dozen medium-sized on hand, all neatly sealed.

About one o'clock in the afternoon the solemn work of mixing the sirup with water began. Two young

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

men seated on the ground under the jacal in front of Juan's hut and facing the east began these operations. The sweet stuff was first poured into a large and deep water-tight basket, with symbolic designs in the weaving, one placed before each young man. Water was poured into this, in the proportion of two-thirds to a third part; sometimes half and half is used. The operators, who had their shirt sleeves turned up to the elbow, mixed according to rules and regulations. Slowly stretching their hands, palm down and forward, over the fluid, they would immerse them and draw them along the bottom toward themselves, then rubbing the hands twice against each other over the fluid. This was repeated several times. As a change they sometimes dipped them into the liquid, lifted up what the two hollows of the hands would hold, and rubbed it into foam, continuing rubbing until the foam disappeared. An elderly man then tasted the mixture, carried the basket into the house, and emptied it into one of the big jars. This procedure of mixing lasted nearly four hours. In the same way the brewing of the much esteemed wine was commenced that day not only in the Big House, but in many of the private dwellings of the great rancheria. Usually several families unite forces at one house and, when the official feast of two days is over at the lodge, people gather at the houses to drink and get drunk.

Shortly after sunset that day, the loud voice of the herald who calls the meeting to order, sounded from the lodge. His exhortations lasted several minutes, and although I at a distance could not distinguish the words,

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

follow the words at that distance. In their enthusiasm they seemed to be trying to wring the rain from the gods, and above them all could be heard that wonderful soprano. Every time a new stanza came around, they intoned as is their custom the first words with all the power of their lungs, giving the singing a triumphant expression.

During the two nights of singing and ceremonies, the wine was getting ready for consumption on the third day, at which time people gathered outside the lodge to the number of some five hundred, including many who had not taken part in the exercises. Many came to drink wine at the houses of their friends and relatives, and had been invited from such distant places as Florence on the Gila River and San Pedro in Sonora, everybody first having been present at the distributing of the wine at the lodge.

Young boys on horseback had been in evidence in the morning, racing joyously with each other and raising dust wherever they went. Some of them were prematurely under the influence of liquor, the result of the inroads of civilization. It is characteristic of the primitive Indian to be strict and formal in his religious observances, but after the festival, when the gods have had their share, he, too, wants a good time and takes it. The rising generation, breaking away from their native customs, make no such fine distinction.

People came on horseback or in wagons, some of them in light carriages; one well-to-do Indian from the northern part of Baboquivari arrived in quite a

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

them on the machine, which she owns or borrows from her more fortunate sisters. Petticoats are considered less necessary. At Juan's ranch, on which was my camp, the women folks had been working for two days to get their dresses ready for this occasion. Until midnight the running of the sewing machine could be heard from the little house I had at first occupied.

The ceremonies and speeches proceeded in the same manner as those I had witnessed before. The wine was distributed only to the fortunate ones seated in the square, and there was not much of it either. After an hour the whole affair was over and people dispersed to the different houses, where the brew of the season was awaiting them. To be present at the revelries which followed was not pleasant. It was a good-tempered crowd, but drunken people are nuisances, whether in civilization or among barbarians. However, if anything, there is some excuse for a barbarian to get drunk, for he thinks it is the will of the gods, and that it helps to bring about rain. Moreover, his native intoxicant, indulged in only on certain religious occasions, does not do him much physical harm.

There were some ludicrous sights to behold, mingled with pathetic. Two women on the point of starting for home were seated in a wagon, both visibly under the influence of the sahuaro wine. They were conversing and weeping in their effusive feelings for each other, while a suckling infant at the breast of one of them was adding to the wail from a quite different sentiment. A thick-set, resolute woman with a nice face, an acquaint-

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

796 ance of mine from Ánekam, took charge of her drunken
●273 husband, trying to get a start for home. The board that closes the hind part of the wagon had been taken out, as if ready for loading; she invoked the help of a sober-looking young fellow and, with their combined efforts, the heavy bulk of her husband was landed safely in the wagon. The young man next, in a most informal way, helped the corpulent lady herself to climb up by grabbing hold of one of her legs and shoving her upwards with all his might, as if she were a log.

650 It became necessary for me to begin my return journey to Tucson, and I proceeded first to a rancheria, which is in close proximity to Santa Rosa. I had learned that an old man who had given me valuable information at San Xavier was living here, and I desired to see him again. He turned out to be the most influential person there and was very kind. True, he accepted an unusual amount of presents in the shape of provisions, tobacco, etc., but his good-will was well worth the price. The people were encouraged by him to sell me what I wanted and there was no loss of time from having to coax and wait or having to dispel suspicions and fear. Everybody was obliging and glad to sell. Some went to the practising enclosure of the place and rifled it of anything I might desire and they all searched their houses. It was as if I had come to a primitive tribe in Australia. I secured good masks and a complete clown's outfit, the best so far, including a pouch in which tobacco and medicine plumes are carried.

At my request a man was sent to Anekam to try to

[pp. 127-146 not processed]

13:Davis E-5 (1920)1920 NU28 Papago NU28

796 an arrow at it. The other went through the motions of killing the game by smashing the skull, and threw it over his shoulder. Then they went in search of more tracks, and in turn killed jackrabbits, deer, antelope, and other game, one at a time.

When the banner was paraded, one man carried a bush from which the clowns appeared to pick things. These represented [222] large, fat, yellow worms, which in the spring are sometimes found on bushes and are eaten by the Indians. The clowns gathered these in pantomime, and then built a fire to roast and eat them. Four times the banner was paraded about the ground. It [789] appeared to be a small square of white sheeting, upon which was painted a crude rainbow, clouds, and rain. Presumably it was intended to bring rain or to prevent drought. Late in the afternoon many of [273] the Indians, drunk from tizwin, staggered about the ground.

At sunset the last of the ceremony took place. The priests led the masked dancers in front of the singers' booth, and there the four masked men danced and sang; then all

13:Davis E-5 (1920) 1920 NU28 Papago NU28

796

returned to their respective booths, while the people crowded in and the priests sprinkled meal, blessed all those in the booths, and the fiesta was finished, except the grand debauch.

The singers left the booths, and the old woman picked up the basket containing the sacred relic, balanced it on her head, and later laid it on the roof of a ramada, near the house where the tizwin was deposited. The ceremonial articles were tied up in a large bundle, carried to the same place, and deposited near by. Here they were under constant observation, and were perfectly safe. The second day later they were to be placed in their secret cave and sealed.

796
273
786

The night following the ceremony was given over entirely to unrestricted drinking, indulged in by the entire male population. A peculiar custom is that some of the young men, still able to walk, went around to every Indian house and touched every man on the shoulder with a stick of saguaro wood—a summons to go to the tizwin house and get drunk. This could not be disregarded. The summons was

[201]

13:Davis E-5 (1920)1920 NU28 Papago NU28

796 always accompanied with the ceremonial
273 phrase, "You are a good man when you are
786 drunk." Any man so summoned arose immediately, found his way to the place of debauchery, and drank. Often the men would vomit, then proceed to drink again, and this might happen several times during the night. All drank, both men and boys, until there was not a sober one in the village.

273 Tizwin is the juice of the fruit of the
796 saguaro cactus, gathered in July, and is boiled down to a syrup, then sealed up in small ollas. A cloth is placed over the top, tied down, and then plastered over with mud, which is allowed to dry. Three days before the fiesta is to end, the syrup is placed in a number of large ollas, set in the earth in a special house. Water is then poured into the ollas until they are nearly full, and a slow fire of mesquite sticks is built in the center of the house. The keeper, an old, dried-up Indian, then closes the door, leaving the liquid to ferment. The smouldering fire is kept alive for three days and nights, and when the ceremony is

13:Davis E-5 (1920) 1920 NU28 Papago NU28

273
796

over the liquor is ready to drink. If it is not consumed when fully ripe, it becomes water and loses its intoxicating qualities. In color it is blood-red and tastes like sour wine. There were nine large ollas in this house, containing twelve to fourteen gallons each, so that in all, about 120 gallons must have been consumed.

The old keeper doled the liquor in small, two-quart ollas, from which the Indians drank, passing them from mouth to mouth until all was consumed, and the ollas ready to be refilled. The Indians claim that the liquor is good for them, as it cleanses the system either as an emetic or as a cathartic. It was given to them by "Montezuma," together with the saguaro and other desert products. During the drinking there was neither quarreling nor fighting.

[157]

[173]

[578]

135

Within a quarter of a mile of Quitovaquita, at the place where the monster is said to have perished, there appears to be a great deposit of lime-like earth, and in some places limestone. This doubtless hides the skeletal remains of many large prehistoric animals, since we there found

273 The only important intoxicating beverage is a sort of cider made from the giant cactus fruit *(Carnegia gigantea)*. In districts where it grows it is brewed once a year by each village with elaborate ceremony, the brewing, the drinking and the actual intoxication being part of the ritual for bringing rain.

When the beverage is to be made every family contributes a jar of boiled juice to the large jars ceremonially guarded in the council house. At present each family also makes several jars for home consumption. As soon as the juice is decanted from its air-tight receptacles, it is mixed with four times the quantity of water, the ideal being a mild intoxicant which can be taken in quantity. A small fire is lighted in the council house to keep up a steady moderate heat, and official tasters direct the fermenting process. They usually have a small jar of the liquid, already fermented, from which they add some to the large jars if fermentation is too slow. Individual Indians bury their jars in the ground to obtain heat. The established fermenting time is seventy-two hours.

The resulting drink, called *navai't*, is a crimson-colored sort of cider with a slightly nauseating taste, which, when drunk in the ritual quantity induces vomiting. This beverage is almost impossible to keep, therefore the tradition is that the whole supply must be consumed within twenty-four hours.

A similar drink, made from the pitahaya or organ pipe cactus fruit *(Lemaireocereus thurberi)*, was used in the southern part of the Papago territory, and constituted the ceremonial drink for that area. Fermented drinks were once made from the prickly pear fruit *(Opuntia engelmannii)* and from the fruit of the lote bush *(Zizyphus lycioides)*; these were never extensively used, however, and had no ceremonial significance.

276 The Jimson weed *(Datura meteloides)* grows plentifully in the region but in spite of its use by neighboring Yuma, Zuñi, Ute, and some California Indians as a narcotic,

465 The standard rate for picking upland cotton in southern Arizona during the 1950 season was $3.00 per 100 pounds. So the average daily wage for Papago men was approximately $6.00, with a range from about $3.85 up to $9.00.

462 Papago women apparently are slower pickers than their
465 husbands. They seem to average about 150 pounds a day of upland cotton.[1] This would give them a daily wage of $4.50. For the 5½-day work week Papago men averaged about $33 and their wives about $25. However, since women generally take time off from picking to wash clothes, do some cooking, clean up the cabin, etc., it is likely that many of them earn no more than $12 to $15 per week. There were 17 weeks between September 1, 1950, and the
434 end of the year. The hypothetical average Papago man could have earned some $560 picking cotton over this period. His wife could have added about $200 to $425 depending on how many days in the week she worked. In families with husband and wife picking, income for the season could run $750 to $1,000. It is extremely doubtful if any Papago family actually earned so much.

461 One reason income of the Desert People in the fields
293 is lower than the theoretically possible figure is that
[434] they do not seem to put in a full work week. Their work week is nearer 4½ than 5½ days,[2] lumping men and women together. This simply indicates men put in a full 5½ day week, but women only work about half the days in the week. An important factor in time lost from work by the Desert People is liquor. Cotton farmers are almost unanimous in their condemnation of Indian drinking. The usual opinion is Papagos start drinking Friday night, and are unable to work Monday, wobbly Tuesday, at full steam Wednesday. Of course, this picture in farmers' minds has been painted by exceptional individual Papagos and doesn't represent accurately the situation for all Papagos. But it does reflect the great amount of time lost by many Papago individuals because of their drinking habits.

461 Another cause of lost working time for Papago har-
796 vesters is the religious celebration. Most important is the fiesta of St. Francis in October. Many farmers throw up their hands then, and gripe loudly about families that

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 71]

[1] Only 3 women told the author how much they picked, and 1 worked a short day. They averaged 130 pounds per day.
[2] 8 Papagos in both counties who didn't lose time from drunkenness worked 37 days in the week preceeding their interview, an average of 4.6.

511
425
788

fruits and sugar cane, baked goods and all sorts of manufactured articles. A couple of large ears of boiled green corn costing 40 centavos were almost a meal. With the exchange rate at almost 9 pesos to the U. S. dollar, the Desert People could eat cheaply in Magdalena. $4 for a three-day stay in 1950 was ample.

Thus a Papago pilgrim spending 3 days at the 1950 fiesta needed about $20 U. S. to travel to and from Magdalena, and eat and sleep while there. But probably every Papago spent more than that amount, and most spent considerably more. There were candles to be bought for the saint, coins to be left in his box, ribbons to buy, statues for the household shrine, and other religious mementos, including a colored pin or [273] a picture. And because Mexico does not discriminate against her Indian citizens in the matter of liquor as does the U. S., there was good Mexican beer and mescal and tequila to drink without let or hindrance. Most pilgrams probably spent $25 in 1950, and many spent up to $40 or $50 each.

788

San Xavier on the Papagos' own San Xavier reservation is not nearly so exciting as the Mexican town, but it is nearer and felt to be safer--many Papagos have an almost pathologic fear of Mexican pachucos. [277] Staffed with Franciscans, San Xavier is still an Indian church, still an Indian mission. To San Xavier go from 15% to 20% of the pilgrims from the cotton fields.[1] This is a much less expensive pilgrimage than the one to Magdalena. There is no town with its shops and bars (although the city of Tucson is only a dozen miles away for shopping). Bus fare is cheaper. The 450 to 500 Papago pickers making a pilgrimage to San Xavier had tamer times.

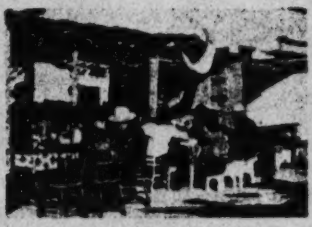
Chuwhiy Cuwsk is a relatively new goal for pilgrims. San Xavier and Magdalena were founded by the first Jesuit missionary to the Desert People, Fr. Eusebio Kino, before 1700. The present churches were built under later Franciscan friars in the Spanish colonial period. But Chuwhiy Cuwsk was never the site of a mission. Just south of the international boundary in Mexico, it is still an Indian town. Mexicans from

First Continues on P. 93]

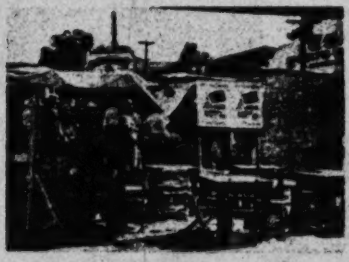
[1] 4 of 23 whose pilgrimage goal was obtained went to San Xavier--17%.

Magdalena

Papago pilgrims watched Yaqui and Mayo dancers fascinated . . . paid them hard-earned U. S. coin . . .



ate in sidewalk restaurants . . .



and drank Mexican beer . . . mescal . . . tequila . . . in the sidewalk bars . . .

bought watermelons . . . boiled green corn . . . sugar cane . . .

even youngsters . . .

and passed out . . . to be helped home . . . before the police came.

446 reliable but they're more trouble--you have to take
484 them to town, to the store, and you have to look after them more than the others.[1]

197 The Desert People working in the cotton harvest
591 meet farmers and other laborers under very special
432 conditions in labor camps and fields. But for a few
439 hours in the week they come into contact with a much
273 wider range of Anglo-American culture in trading centers where they shop. They enter into the buyer-seller relationship prevalent in our society, in stores of many kinds. They go to movies. They sit by trucks that haul them to town and watch the colorful harvest season crowds. They seek sympathetic or predatory men to buy liquor for them, since legally they cannot purchase it themselves. Then, they drink it as fast as possible so they won't loose the poor quality liquor they've been overcharged for if they're arrested. As a result they generally become staggering drunk and are arrested, contributing both cash and labor to the city governments of trading towns--and giving their tribe a black eye. Their few hours in town on Saturday afternoon make a deep impression upon the observant Desert People.

484 In Pima county, large-city Tucson is shopping day
439 goal for Papagos. They take a bus into the city about
[494] once a month.[2] These are the shopping trips remembered by the Desert People, for in talking about their shopping, they didn't bother to mention more frequent trips to stores in Sahuarita or Marana where the center of town is no more than a general store or two and a garage.

In Pinal county the Desert People usually shop in the trading center nearest the labor camp where they live. The main shopping towns are Casa Grande, Eloy, Picacho, and Stanfield and Maricopa. The first three are towns of about 4,000 inhabitants. The others are "wide places in the road." To some extent Papagos go there, or to country stores at Friendly Corners, El Centro, etc., most of the time, looking forward to a trip to one of the towns every couple of weeks or once a month. The Indians go to one of the business centers Saturday afternoon, usually for 3 hours or more.[3]

---

[1] 6 individuals giving information averaged 85.8 days between shopping days in Tucson.

[2] 18 Papagos giving information went to town every 7.4 days on the average.

484
439
511 But those few hours are enough for the Papagos to spend about half their wages. During the war it was estimated $40 of every $100 they received from labor, cattle, and produce went immediately to business men operating outside the reserves.[1] With the boom in cotton, and the boom for Papago pickers, probably even more is spent off the reserves today.

466
484 Most farmers who send a truck in to town with a load of Indians seem to have learned they have fewer problems with drunkenness if the trucks return to the labor camps before dinner. The time the Desert People spend in town now is considerably less than it was a few years ago, when the streets were filled with Papagos long after dark. Then on Monday morning farmers went to city halls in numbers to find some of their laborers and pay their "$10 or 10 day" fines so they could go back to work.

293
466
[433] Drinking is still the main sin Anglo employers hold against Papago farm workers, as well as the number one social problem among the Desert People. As a farmer near Stanfield observed, "There's nothing more useless than a drunk Indian." It is the exceptional cotton farmer who can say of his Papagos they "drink less and are less trouble--the whites drink more." Most farmers would agree with a foreman who said that the Papagos in his camp "all drink, but very few get wild." Some growers control this problem by firing those of the Desert People unable to restrict their tippling to week ends in town. Cotton farmers often bail out good workers rather than lose their services for 10 days to the city. All over the irrigated valleys where Papagos work, bootlegging to Indians is an acute problem.

293
461
166
[439] So widespread is drinking among the Desert People in labor camps that it appears to be one big attraction to Papagos to leave their reserves to work. Liquor is much more easily obtained in labor camps and trading towns than on isolated reserves. Friendly or profiteering Anglos, Negros and Mexican-Americans willing to sell a bottle to a thirsty Indian are relatively abundant around camps and towns. And enforcement of laws prohibiting liquor to Indians is especially difficult outside reserves. One isolated rural store, at

---

[1] Program, Papago Reservation, 1944, p. 43.

273 452 439 One isolated rural store, at least, sold Papagos wine on credit in 1950—an ultimate easing of the usual difficulty Indians find in buying intoxicants.

273 [434] [434] [511] [526] Many individual Papagos picking cotton probably have no cash surplus from their season's labor because they spend all their extra money for liquor. They work long enough to get drunk, then lay off until they are both broke and sober again. This type of individual gives the whole Papago labor force a very evil reputation. But neither disapproval or employers nor social disapprobation within the Papago tribe seem to be strong enough to curb drinking.

000 [273] Probably repeal of federal law prohibiting liquor to Indians would remove some of the attraction liquor holds for the Papagos. It would surely cut down on the number of staggering drunks—the usual state of Papago drunks—in allowing the Desert People to sit down in a bar like other civilized human beings and drink slowly and socially instead of paying an inflated bootlegger's price for inferior liquor to be gulped down immediately in a dark alley before a policeman confiscates it. Some policemen make a semi-racket of letting known bootleggers operate, and waiting until Papagos are thoroughly drunk before arresting them—a practice resulting in considerable police department revenue, and some extra cash for the officers, if some observant growers are to be believed. But the Desert People do not drink merely because they aren't supposed to. The basic reasons lie deeper in their psychology, and are undoubtedly tied into emotional insecurities bred from economic uncertainty and the stresses arising from getting along with only half-understood Anglos.

273 182 154

46 of the employers who discussed Papago picking capabilities with the writer believed the Desert People picked slower than other harvest hands. But just as many of them also believed Papagos picked cleaner cotton,[1] which makes them sought after cotton pickers. Clean picking and ability [273] to get along well with employers also outweigh the serious handicap of drunkenness among the Desert People. Employer's experiences with drinking Indians naturally varies. But almost all reported their Indian crews were far below full strength on Monday. A Marana farmer said, [512] "If they'd quit drinking they'd be the best. But 99% of them do drink. They are never any good on Monday, pick up on Tuesday, and are working good on Wednesday." Another remarked that Papagos start to drink Thursday night. These are extreme examples--some cotton farmers luckily hired only families which didn't drink--but a Monday lay-off from picking is general. And growers who have employed Papagos for many years are quite accustomed to bailing their Indians out of jail for $10, or coddling men like J. who "works one week here and one in [578] the city 'hotel'." The faculty of the Desert People for not arguing or causing trouble must count very strongly with cotton farmers for them to put up with other failings of Papago harvest laborers. Whether their pro-Papago attitude would survive creation of a Papago Labor Service is extremely doubtful. For the type of cotton grower common in southern Arizona would tend to interpret a Labor Service as just the kind of trouble he tries to avoid in hiring the Desert People. The social welfare activities of a Labor Service as suggested by Dr. Thompson are exactly the sort of trouble cotton growers would avoid by not hiring the Desert People.

464 466 Whether a Papago Labor Service tried to place workers or the Desert People were placed through the Arizona State Employment Service, cotton growers would look askance. They prefer pickers who deal directly with them over pickers sent out from the ASES for the simple reason they are usually better pickers. Migrants who come directly to the farms are experienced in picking cotton--whether they are Anglos or Indians, Negros or Mexican-Americans. Farmers can depend on them to pitch right in and pick their weight. Pickers sent out from ASES offices are not always so dependable. Field offices in Pinal county help many experienced migrants find places, along with inexperienced beginners. But in Pima county a high

[1] Based on 15 interviews in Pima, 11 in Pinal county.

464
466
177 Negros who have absorbed more Anglo-American culture and are therefore less subservient.

SKILLED FARM WORKERS

464 The more skilled Papago farm laborers will be least affected by mechanization in the cotton fields. There is no foreseeable way of mechanizing the process of irrigation in the immediate future (although it could be done!), so demand for Papago irrigators will continue. And they are good irrigators when experienced. As one cotton growers remarked only half-jokingly, "The Papagos are the only people I know who can make water run uphill!"

464 Another quality in the Desert People that makes
466 them attractive to Anglo farmers is their psuedo-subser-
156 vience. Employers say an Indian will never argue with you; he'll do a task your way, but if he doesn't like it he just leaves. Anglo farmers seem to prefer this kind of action to arguments and recriminations from workers of their own group, or Negros or Mexican-Americans. It arises from the deepest wells of Papago personality.
[183] "In addition to belief in magical and supernatural for-
ces, the main behavior requirements for smooth functioning of the Old Papago society were work, co-operation,
[867] and avoidance of aggression."[1] These ideas drilled into the Papago child from infancy make the Papago adult a nearly ideal employee from the Anglo point of view.

464 Advantages of behavior the Desert People have in
466 finding farm jobs in southern Arizona are somewhat off-
[191] set by their relatively poor understanding and command
[213] of the English language, and the high incidence of drunkenness among the men. However, the most serious disadvantage the Desert People will labor under when cotton cultivation and harvesting reaches full mechanization will be lack of skills.

464 Of course, irrigators and general farm handy men who clean ditches, feed cattle or poultry, mend fences, and perform simple tasks on hay balers and other machines will still be hired. But their pay will be relatively low compared to tractor operators, especially machine picker drivers, and other skilled men. Papago farm workers have little opportunity to learn these skills, and mechanization may sweep the cotton fields leaving them all performing lowlier tasks.

---

[1] Joseph, Spicer and Chesky, 1949, p. 211.

3: Whited G-5 (1890) 1894 NT15 River Yumans
Papago NU28
Pima NU29

Pa 658 797

There is what is termed a "contract school" located at Tucson, which many of the Papago children attend. The school is established and supported in part by a missionary department of the Presbyterian church. The buildings are large, airy, well planned, and adapted to the purpose required. The pupils seem well disciplined and clean. The government pays a stated sum annually to the school for each pupil in attendance as reimbursement for board and clothing furnished. The school owns 5 or 6 good buildings, all in good condition and well furnished, also a farm of 43 acres. On account of lack of water but few garden vegetables are grown, but barley and wheat yield abundantly.

Some of the scholars are taught carpentering, painting, and plastering, and their work is quite satisfactory.

PAPAGOS LIVING OFF THE RESERVATION.

Pa 131 197

These Papago Indians live in the southern part of Pima county, along the southern border of the territory of Arizona. Their language is similar to that spoken by the Pimas. They roam over a country about 100 miles in width north and south and about 125 miles east and west, and there are a few small villages over the Mexican border but near the boundary line.

Pa 13 231

The country in which they live consists of broad, open plains, divided by mountain ranges. The valleys or plains are arid, having no natural springs or running streams of water; yet after the summer rains these plains are covered with grass of a fine quality, and owing to the dryness of the air this grass is cured or dried on the ground and furnishes good, rich food for cattle during the remainder of the year.

Pa 361 312 342 [231]

The Indians select their dwelling places at the foot of the mountains near the mouth of the various canyons that open out into the plains. Small springs often flow through these canyons and sink into the sand. The Indians utilize these springs or sink wells into the sand, and thus secure the underflow from the springs. Their cattle feed out into the plains and return to these wells or springs to drink. Near these watering places, usually on an elevation, the Indians build their houses in their permanent villages of adobe, about 12 by 16 feet in area and about 8 feet in height. Small poles are laid on top and crosswise of the building, and on these are laid brush, with weeds or grass on the brush, the whole covered with about 6 inches of clay, which is impervious to water. The floor is of clay, and there is one doorway, but no windows. The doorway is sometimes closed with a dried beef hide. As a rule, they live on the outside of the house. The house contains no furniture except a little bedding and some cooking utensils.

Pa [352]

Pa 262 439 291

Their food consists of beef, dried wild fruit, dried mesquite beans made into a kind of bread, and wild game. During the summer rains they raise some vegetables, which they dry for winter use. They also sell or trade cattle to settlers in the Gila and Santa Cruz valleys for wheat and corn, which the women grind in their crude way into meal and flour. They have adopted the civilized mode of dress, and are gradually learning the use of soap.

The women of the tribe are virtuous and industrious, being in these traits far in advance of any other tribe in the territory.

Pa 161 648 Pa 46

There are 4,000 of this tribe living off the Papago reservation. With rare exceptions they are self-sustaining, have always been good citizens, and on many occasions have joined with the whites to assist in suppressing murderous Apaches. The principal occupation of the men is raising cattle and horses, and a little farming when they can find a piece of damp ground that will raise corn and vegetables, hunting, chopping wood around mining camps, and ordinary labor wherever they can find it. If there is any mixed blood in the tribe it is not perceptible.

There are several mining camps scattered throughout the country which these Indians inhabit, and in some of the large valleys wealthy men or companies have sunk wells 800 or 1,000 feet deep and established cattle ranches or ranges, and many Indians are employed about these camps and mines.

Pa 133 497 224

The country is somewhat difficult of access, as there are several mountain ranges running through it. The roads follow the valleys, and sometimes it is "a long way around where it is only a short way across". These mountain ranges abound in game, which the Indians hunt.

Pa 273 231

A month's travel in these Papago villages failed to reveal a single case of drunkenness, although there are frequent instances of drunkenness among Indians in the streets of Tucson. They have great numbers of horses and cattle, but it is impossible to form a correct estimate as to numbers. The horses are small and inferior, but the cattle are fully up to the average in size and quality.

Pa 648 771 797

These Indians as a tribe have always been exceptionally friendly to the white people. They have never received aid from the government. The little religion they have is a conglomerate of Roman catholicism, superstition, and Indian hoodooism. The Roman Catholic church established missions among them more than 150 years ago.

THE RESERVATION AND NONRESERVATION PAPAGO INDIANS, PIMA AGENCY.

Report of Special Agent C. W. Wood on the reservation and nonreservation Papagos of Pima and Cochise counties.

Pa 101 Pi [101] Pa [797]

TRIBAL NAME.—The Papagos and Pimas were formerly one tribe. Authorities differ as to the derivation and meaning of the name. One view is that Papago means "hair cut", another that it means "baptized". Neither of these meanings has any etymological basis or value. The most reasonable derivation of the term seems to be the following, derived from conversation with the oldest Indians: the division of the Pimas occurred from the inland

3: Whited G-5 (1890) 1894 NT15 River Yumans
Papago NV28

133 134 PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE REGION.—The territory covered by the Papagos in their migrations, and in which their villages are located, consists of mountain ranges and the intervening valleys. The soil of the valleys contains a considerable proportion of clay, so that it is all called adobe soil. In the mesas or plains occasional strips of sand occur. Along the arroyos, or dry water channels, deposits of gravel are numerous. The arroyos become raging torrents during the rainy season, rendering travel impossible or dangerous during the temporary flood. The soil of the foothills is very rocky. Alkali is present in the soil in varying proportions, giving the characteristic name to the vast stretch of country known as the alkali desert. It is not the presence of alkali, however, that makes the desert, but the absence of water. An abundant water supply renders this alkali soil equal in fertility to any soil in the country. As it is, the valleys contain a great deal of arable land, 137 which is evident from the great areas covered with grass, which form the stock ranges, and from occasional sections where weeds grow so luxuriantly after the rainy season as to overtop a man on horseback. Some portions of the valleys are covered with mesquite trees and bushes, and also sagebrush, but these sections produce abundant crops when irrigated.

132 CLIMATE.—The climate is very mild, being neither extremely cold in winter nor hot in summer. The mean average temperature during the summer of 1889 was 81.5°, and during the winter of 1889–1890 it was 52.6°.

312 WATER SUPPLY.—There are occasional wells found among the Indian villages. Natural water holes are quite numerous, and by raising embankments of earth in favorable localities the Papagos make huge ponds or reservoirs, which they call tanks. These natural and artificial reservoirs are only serviceable for the temporary storage of water, and toward the last they become filthy mudholes. The Indians, however, continue to use the water as long as it can possibly be considered a fluid. In one place the Papagos have dug a well 80 feet deep, and with incredible labor have made a footpath from the top of the ground to the level of the water.

Water is found by boring at a depth of from 200 to 800 feet, but no flowing wells have yet been obtained in the territory. The water in the wells rises from 50 to 150 feet, and then is raised to the surface by steam pumps. The Indians, however, have not the financial resources with which to sink or operate artesian wells. When their tanks are exhausted they remove with droves and herds to the valleys and canyons in the mountains, frequently crossing over into Mexico.

137 TIMBER.—The varieties of timber within the Papago range are the willow, cottonwood, mesquite, palloverda, and on the southern and western mountain slopes the oak. The mesquite is the most common timber, as it grows freely on the mesas. It rivals the hickory as firewood, throwing out great heat, and the coals retain fire even longer than coals of hickory. The mesquite, however, is very easy to cut, and is handled with far less labor than hickory.

137 FRUITS AND NUTS.—The sahuaro (giant cactus), which grows on the rocky soil of the foothills and covers the moderate mountain ranges, rises in height from 10 to 60 feet, and is a mass of vegetable matter, supported by an internal skeleton of ribs or poles of woody fiber. The fruit of this remarkable plant grows out of the top of the trunk and arms, and constitutes an important article of food, the Papagos almost living upon it during June, July, 272 and a part of August. They gather it with long poles, and eat it either fresh or after it has been dried. They make 262 from the juice a sirup and a drink which is slightly charged with alcohol. Although the ribs of the sahuaro are [273] very valuable, the Indians never destroy the plant, and are greatly incensed if a white man cuts one down; but [313] when the cactus dies and the vegetable matter dries, powders, and falls away, leaving the ribs exposed and bare, they are used as supports for the dirt roofs of adobe houses, for the sides of houses when plastered with mud, for poultry and pigeon houses, and other small structures.

262 [273] The Papagos eat the fruit of the prickly pear cactus and make a sirup from its juice; from the mescal (sweet aloe) a highly intoxicating drink is made. The root, which is bulbous, grows partly under and partly above the ground, and when roasted it is very delicious, and great quantities are consumed by the Papagos. They dig out of the ground a vegetable which appears to be a species of wild onion, but they call it a groundnut, and relish it [388] highly when boiled. A very useful plant found in large quantities, called the soap plant (amole), forms a substitute for soap.

282 The tannin root, resembling the sweet potato in appearance, grows in great profusion. It contains a large portion of tannic acid, and is a substitute for the astringent barks, hemlock and oak, which are used in tanneries.

262 252 FOOD.—In addition to the fruits, nuts, and flesh already mentioned, their food consists of wheat flour (usually formed by the women on a metate) prepared in simple ways, parched wheat and corn, boiled wheat and corn, flour made from the mesquite bean, beans, boiled squash, green and dried squash seeds, beef, and poultry.

181 [464] INDUSTRY.—The Papagos seem to be esteemed by the whites in general as the best Indians in the territory. They are industrious, and are good help in mines, on ranches, in the harvest field, and on stock ranges. They easily learn the mechanical arts, and set and handle mining drills as well as white men. The engineer at the Quijotoa mines said that his assistant was a Papago, and that he was fully competent to run the engine.

[312] In practical irrigation the Indians are conceded to be the superiors of the whites, and in their domain this is the foundation of agricultural skill. When properly educated there can be no doubt of their ability to acquire the scientific principles of the art.

3: Whited G-5 (1890) 1894 NT15 River Yumans
Papago NU29

The Papagos are not addicted to

873 296 525 intoxicating drink, but smoking and gambling are so common among them that they will even stake their clothing on races, either horses or horses, and on the simple games with which they are familiar.

771 797 RELIGION.—The Papagos are nominally Catholics. Adults and children wear crosses and charms. They believe in witches and evil spirits, and buy charms to insure good luck.

At the little village of Ki-li-vah, where there are a number of returned scholars, it was said that a simple service was held by these "graduates", in which they explained on Sundays the things they had learned about the white men's religion. At the village called Gunsight 2 Mormons have been living among the Indians for nearly 3 years.

191 181 182 871 EDUCATION.—The Papago youth of both sexes show considerable capacity for mental culture. Many of the Papagos speak Spanish fluently, even after having been at school for 3 or 5 years. When at home on their vacations they only hear Papago and Spanish, which tends to the disuse of what English they have acquired. They are docile, mild in disposition, and well inclined toward their teachers. They learn slowly but surely. The chief difficulty of receiving any permanent benefit from educating them is that they are so disastrously affected by the conditions which meet them when they return to their homes. They virtually return to barbarism and all old influences of a nonprogressive character.

The boys readily learn improved methods of agriculture, also the trades of tinsmith, blacksmith, and carpenter, while the girls learn sewing, cooking, and the general duties of housekeeping.

658 797 162 SCHOOL ATTENDANCE.—During the 3 years of the Tucson Presbyterian mission school 75 Papago children have been enrolled. There are 30 now on the rolls. The number enrolled at the San Xavier reservation schools is about 30. At Sacaton there are 15 Papagos on the roll. The government school there is well conducted.

It will be seen that in the district visited, with the addition of the Papago scholars at San Xavier, not more than 160 in all of these children are in school. The total number of Papago children of school age is probably about 2,000. Their parents will exercise no authority to secure their attendance at school even when they wish them to go, nor, on the other hand, do they hinder them if they desire an education.

164 [155] PATHOLOGICAL.—The Papagos are very liable to consumption and pneumonia. This arises from the exposure to which they are subject in inclement weather, as all mud roofs leak in protracted rains and a pitch sufficient to carry off the rain would cause the adobe itself to wash off entirely. Many of the tribe are pitted badly with smallpox. Children are subject to measles and whooping cough in addition to lung difficulties. The Papagos have no medical treatment whatever among themselves, and in case of sickness resort to the "medicine man" with his mummeries.

152 152 The Indians seem to be able to deal with flesh injuries, but are powerless in cases of disease or fractures of bones. In acute local pain they sometimes put a pinch of cotton on the flesh and burn it there, repeating the process on a new spot at a little distance. Ordinarily their only resource is stoical submission.

SAN CARLOS AGENCY.

000 Report of Special Agent STEPHEN WHITE on the Indians of the White Mountain Apache reservation, Fort Apache subagency, and the Apache, Mohave, and Papago Indians of the San Carlos agency, Arizona, from August to November, 1890.

Names of Indian tribes or parts of tribes occupying reservations: (a) Arivaipai, Chilion, Chiricahua, Coyotero, Mimbres, Mogollon, Mohavi, Pinal, San Carlos, Sierra, Venta, and Yuma-Apache.

The confirmed area of the White Mountain reservation is 2,816,000 acres, or 5,500 square miles. The outboundaries have been surveyed. It was established, altered, or changed by executive orders November 9, 1871, December 14, 1872, August 5, 1873, July 31, 1876, April 27, 1876, and January 30 and March 31, 1877.

Indian population June 1, 1890: White Mountain Apaches, 2,191; White Mountain reservation, Fort Apache subagency, 1,800; total Apaches, 4,041; Mohave reservation, 501; Yuma reservation, Mohaves, 200; total at agency, 4,082.

The San Carlos agency is situated on a mesa immediately below the junction of the San Carlos with the Gila river. The altitude is about 2,500 feet above sea level. The records of the United States signal service show that the highest temperature for the summer of 1890 reached, July 6, 109°, the lowest for the winter of 1889–1890 was January 20, being 20°. The earliest frost in the fall of 1889 was November 2, and the latest frost in the spring of 1890 was March 16.

The agent reports to the Indian Office that many government buildings at San Carlos are in bad order. They consist of: No. 1, an adobe building 1 story high, 30 by 60 feet, one-half used as agent's dwelling, one-half for storehouse for grain, $1,000; No. 2, a 1-story adobe, built around a court, whole length about 300 feet, used for agent's offices, telegraph office, several rooms for dwelling, storerooms, shops, etc., whole in bad order, needs new roof, $3,000; No. 3, several small adobe buildings in rear of No. 2, used for shops, storerooms, etc., $200; No. 4, an adobe building, 1 story high, 32 by 32 feet, used as a meat shop, $800; No. 5, an adobe building, used for doctor's office and hospital, in bad order, $300; No. 6, a new stone building, 1 story high, 50 by 120 feet, with 4 cross partitions, built for storage, $5,000; No. 7, a stone building, same size as No. 6, now building, for shops; No. 8, a frame steam gristmill, $6,000; No. 9, a frame water gristmill (at Fort Apache), $6,000.

---

a The appendix giving tribes, cases, and laws for agencies are from the Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1890, pages 494–495. The population is the census of the census.